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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

PERSIA

PART 2

January to December 1948

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	SUBJECT	Page
1 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... (Tehran) No. 513	1947 Dec. 30	Programme of the new Persian Cabinet ... Summary of points made by M. Hakimi in his speech in the Majlis when he presented his Cabinet	1
2 Sir J. Le Rougetel... No. 516	Dec. 31	Persian Affairs ... Report on events from October to December 1947	1
3 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 12	1948 Jan. 14	Formation of a new Socialist Tudeh Party ... Report on this development	9
4 Consul-General Pott (Tabriz) No. 11	Jan. 15	Outstanding events in Azerbaijan ... Review for the period 1st July-31st December, 1947	10
5 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 29	Jan. 28	Political situation in Persia ... Dissolution of the Socialist Tudeh Party and reunion of the secessionists with the Tudeh Party. Agitation by the Central United Council of Trade Unions (Tudeh)	12
6 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 37	Feb. 10	Persian affairs ... Report on events during January 1948	13
7 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 70	Mar. 3	Persian affairs ... Report on events during February 1948	16
8 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 86	Mar. 15	Proceedings of the Majlis ... Review of proceedings of and work done by the Majlis during the current session and the value of the Assembly in Persian affairs	20
9 Foreign Office ...	Mar. 31	River Helmand dispute ... Research Department memorandum regarding the Perso-Afghan dispute over the Seistan boundary and control of the waters of the River Helmand. Map of the area	21
10 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 112	April 5	Persian affairs ... Report on events during March 1948	26
11 Mr. Creswell ... (Tehran) No. 151	May 4	Persian affairs ... Report on events during April 1948	29
12 Mr. Creswell ... No. 209	June 9	Persian affairs ... Report on events during May 1948	33
13 Mr. Creswell ... No. 232	June 28	Leading personalities in Persia ... Annual report	36
14 Sir O. Franks ... (Washington) No. 3339. Tel.	July 8	Soviet-Persian relations ... State Department views on the proposed denunciation of the Soviet-Persian Treaty of 1921	70
15 Mr. Creswell ... No. 240	July 6	Persian affairs ... Report on events during June 1948	71
16 Mr. Creswell ... No. 253	July 20	Visit of the Shah of Persia to the United Kingdom ... Opposition in Persia to the proposed visit. Final decision of the Shah to carry out the visit as planned and his departure from Tehran on 18th July	73
17 Mr. Creswell ... No. 261	Aug. 3	Persian affairs ... Report on events during July 1948	75
18 To Sir J. Le Rougetel No. 176	Aug. 12	Visit of the Shah of Persia to the United Kingdom ... Account of travelling arrangements and programme of official functions, &c., arranged for the Shah during his visit. Favourable impression gained and value of the visit in strengthening Anglo-Persian relations	78

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	SUBJECT	Page
19 Consul-General Pott No. 22	1948 July 24	Situation in Azerbaijan ... Report for January-June 1948	79
20 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 275	Aug. 13	Administration of the new Government ... Disappointment at inactivity of M. Hajir's Government; review of measures needed to improve conditions in Persia and action so far proposed	81
21 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 282	Aug. 25	Visit of the Shah of Persia to the United Kingdom ... Local reactions in Persia	83
22 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 294	Sept. 6	Persian affairs ... Report on events during August 1948	84
23 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 298	Sept. 8	Return of the Shah to Tehran ... Report on ceremonies and speeches on the Shah's return from his visit to Britain. Public reaction in Persia	86
24 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 305	Sept. 15	Persian budget ... Account of debate in the Majlis	88
25 To Sir J. Le Rougetel No. 222	Oct. 1	Foreign affairs ... Conversation with the Persian Foreign Minister in Paris regarding Perso-Soviet relations, general Soviet foreign policy and Anglo-Persian relations	90
26 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 319	Sept. 28	Political situation in Persia ... Review of present conditions	93
27 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 331	Oct. 5	Persian affairs ... Report on events during September 1948	94
28 Mr. Barnett ... (Isfahan) No. 12	Oct. 6	Visit of the Shah to Isfahan ... Visit of the Shah for the opening of the Kuhrang tunnel project. Account of ceremony and other functions and possible effect of the visit on the local administration	97
29 To Sir J. Le Rougetel No. 246	Oct. 29	Persian Seven-Year Plan ... Conversation with the Governor of the National Bank of Persia regarding measures in hand for the implementation of the Persian Seven-Year Plan and difficulties in the way	99
30 To Sir J. Le Rougetel No. 250	Nov. 3	Persian affairs ... Conversation with the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs	100
31 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 355	Nov. 3	Persian affairs ... Report on events during October 1948	101
32 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 378	Nov. 24	New Persian Government ... Presentation of the Cabinet to the Majlis and announcement of programme by the Prime Minister	103
33 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 393	Dec. 7	Persian affairs ... Report on events during November 1948	104
34 Sir J. Le Rougetel ... No. 406	Dec. 20	Political situation in Persia ... Position of Qavam es Sultaneh and possibility of his return to power despite the opposition of the Shah. Other possible candidates for the premiership	107

Delhi; United Kingdom High Commissioner, Karachi; and all consuls in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 2

*Report for the Quarter ended 31st
December, 1947*

Internal Situation

The chief subjects of interest during the quarter were the rejection by the Majlis of the proposed Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement; the resignation of Qavam's sixth Government; increased participation by the Shah in political matters; and the measures taken by the military authorities for the security of the frontier areas, especially by the rounding-up of undesirable elements in Northern Persia.

The Majlis and the Oil Question

2. The quarter opened with a slight relaxation of tension over the Soviet-Persian oil question, which can be attributed in part to the hardening of Persian opinion on the subject, leaving no room for doubt that the Majlis would repudiate the Qavam-Sadchikov exchange of letters. It was also due, in larger measure, to the fact that the Soviet Government, shortly after the receipt of a note from the Persian Government on 1st October requesting the removal of Russian troops from the frontier area "in order to restore normal conditions on the frontier," did, in fact, on 4th October withdraw in the direction of Baku the troops which had been carrying out manoeuvres in the neighbourhood of Julfa and simultaneously moved troops westward along the Trans-Caspian Railway away from the Persian frontier east of Ashqabad. Although the war of nerves was thus slightly relaxed, the oil question continued to monopolise political interest.

3. Qavam obtained a vote of confidence from the Majlis for the declaration of policy of his sixth Cabinet on 5th October by 93 votes to 12 with 15 abstentions, though this vote explicitly excepted the oil question; and intensive lobbying took place during the first three weeks of October in the expectation that Qavam would shortly submit a report to the Majlis on the oil question, the Chamber itself being occupied in the meanwhile with routine business, such as the re-election of its president and

officers. The only new development during this period was the proposal put forward by the Deputy Abbas Massudi that a purely Iranian company should be established for the exploration and exploitation of the North Persian oil areas; this proposal obtained considerable support, though doubts were expressed in many quarters as to the ability of the Persians to make such a company a working concern if they relied solely upon their own resources. There was also an undercurrent of opinion demanding that the Government should take action against British interests over the question of Bahrein and by demanding revision of the A.I.O.C. concession.

4. The Prime Minister submitted his report to the Majlis on 23rd October; his intention in doing so was to have the North Persian oil question referred to a commission of the Chamber without a full debate or immediate vote on the substance of his 1946 exchange of letters with Sadchikov: the Opposition, on the other hand, wished for a full debate and hoped that it would lead to a vote of no confidence and the resignation of Qavam. Qavam's report was a lengthy document dealing with his conversations in Moscow in the spring of 1946; with the evacuation of Allied troops from Persia; the insurrection in Azerbaijan; and his subsequent negotiations with the Soviet Government on the oil question. It emphasised the constant Russian pressure to which he had been subjected and left the Majlis to decide whether he should sign a final agreement with the Soviet Government on the lines of the exchange of letters. The report did not recommend the acceptance of the proposed arrangement by the Majlis and its general effect was to draw attention to the particularly difficult circumstances at the time and to absolve the Prime Minister himself from any blame for having signed the exchange of letters.

5. The Majlis was then asked to vote upon a resolution proposed by Dr. Shafaq, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. This resolution, which in spite of the Prime Minister's appeal for caution and delay, was voted under the procedure for double urgency with only one dissentient voice, provided that—

- (a) the Qavam-Sadchikov exchange of letters of 1946 was considered null and void and without effect, although it was stated that the Prime Minister had acted in good faith in undertaking the discussions;

- (b) a technical and scientific survey of oil deposits should be undertaken by the Government within a period of five years so that the Majlis might make arrangements, in the form of laws, for the commercial exploitation of these deposits;
- (c) no oil concessions should be granted to foreigners nor any companies established with foreign shareholding for the purpose of exploiting Persia's oil resources;
- (d) the Government might negotiate with the Soviet Government for the sale of any oil found in Northern Persia under (b) above; and
- (e) the Government should undertake negotiations and measures to "redeem the rights of the nation" regarding the country's resources in instances where these rights had been impaired, "especially regarding the oil in the south."

6. Soviet reactions to the passing of this resolution were milder than had at one time been expected. They were limited to diplomatic notes of protest accompanied by violent personal attacks on Qavam by the Russian press and radio, which took the line that the Government of Persia was in the hands of unscrupulous reactionaries who were discriminating against the Soviet Union and selling the country to American imperialism. The Soviet Ambassador pointedly absented himself from the Shah's ceremonial reception on his birthday, 27th October, and in his note of 20th November he stated that the Persian Government's "policy was inconsistent with the maintenance of friendly relations between the two Governments and Persia was alone responsible for any consequences that might ensue."

7. There were no repercussions of a more violent kind during the quarter, though rumours were current that the Soviet Government were preparing intervention by organised bodies of Persian and Kurdish émigrés for a later date. There were also signs that the recrudescence of Tudeh Party activities, to which attention was drawn in the last report, was continued. Tudeh followers at Ahwaz were reported to have expressed confidence of a return of better times for the fortunes of their party at no distant date; secret meetings were held at Abadan and several Tudeh leaders are reported to have returned to that town; and the Tudeh Party in Gilan and Mazenderan is said to

38311

have been entirely reorganised and to be renewing its activities.

The Resignation of Qavam-us-Sultaneh

8. Once the North Persian oil question had been dealt with by the Majlis intrigues against the Prime Minister which had been latent came to a head. The Shah had previously expressed to me his determination to get rid of the Prime Minister as soon as this issue was settled, and in spite of an increase in the Prime Minister's prestige owing to the dexterity with which he had handled the oil question, his enemies in the country were numerous enough to give ample support to such intrigues on the part of the Majlis Deputies. The first evident signs of trouble were the refusal by the Majlis at the end of November to accept the Government's budget for 1948, the Deputies merely agreeing to approve a continuation of Government expenditure on a month-to-month basis. There was also much criticism of Government extravagance and of Qavam; also of the power given to him under the Military Government Act, which certain Deputies sought to revoke.

9. The second phase was a split in the ranks of the Democrat Party and the defection from Qavam of a number of dissident members, who persuaded the President of the Chamber, Sardar Fakher Hekmat, to lead them. This called forth from Qavam a strong appeal for unity, which was prepared for the Majlis and, when a quorum was withheld, was eventually broadcast on 1st December. Qavam also made a "confidential" speech to members of his party on 3rd December which found its way into the press. These statements included passages affirming that the Prime Minister had embarked on discussions about the A.I.O.C. concession, and about the return of Bahrein to Persian sovereignty and that he would insist on satisfaction for the Persian people. These remarks were probably made in an effort to obtain Left-wing support, with which to counter the attack from his own supporters, or, at the worst, to enable him to pose as a champion of Iranian independence and national interests in preparation for his return to office at a later date.

10. Certain other passages in these two statements were alleged to have contained veiled criticism of the Shah, and although these charges were never substantiated it was largely on the strength of them that the crisis came to a head on 4th December

B 2

when all members of the Cabinet, except two who were absent from Tehran, resigned (it is believed, on instructions from the Shah), leaving the Prime Minister isolated. Qavam thereupon asked the Majlis for a vote of confidence to enable him to form a new Ministry; the vote was taken on 10th December but Qavam was unable to obtain an absolute majority of the Deputies present (he obtained forty-six votes, thirty-nine being cast against him, with twenty-seven abstentions). After a delay of a fortnight during which he waited in vain for a diplomatic passport Qavam left the country for France on 30th December.

11. The fall of Qavam was followed by a hiatus; for a week it was expected that the President of the Chamber, Sardar Fakher Hekmat, would be the new Prime Minister. He obtained a majority in the Chamber and was summoned by the Shah, but, after several days' hesitation, he proved unable to form a Government and the task was then given to M. Ibrahim Hakimi. His Cabinet, a weak and unsatisfactory one in which, however, the portfolio of War was given to General Yazdan Panah, the Shah's principal A.D.C., was formed during the last week of December.

The Shah

12. The fall of Qavam seems likely to mark the end of a phase in the development of Persian politics. Earlier in the year there had already been signs of increased political activity by the court. The Shah had felt, since December 1946, that too much credit had been given to Qavam and insufficient to himself as Commander-in-chief of the Army for the military defeat of the Azerbaijan Democrat régime; and he was at pains more recently, particularly during his tour of Azerbaijan in June and on the occasion of the military review at Tehran on 13th December, the first anniversary of the entry of Persian troops into Azerbaijan (which coincided with the fall of Qavam), to draw attention to the political importance of the Crown and the army. There is, moreover, little doubt that the Shah took a leading part in the events leading to the end of Qavam's Government and that he will continue to exert a direct and increasing influence, backed by the military authorities, in the government of the country. He has frequently complained to me of the intractability of the Prime Minister and on one occasion of the inefficiency of the present Constitution. In

particular he has expressed hope of securing further power for the Crown, including the right to dissolve the Majlis. His Majesty has defined his principal aims as the raising of the standard of living so as to diminish the danger of Communist political infiltration, and an increase in the efficiency of the army and of its equipment, so as to make it into an effective instrument to resist Soviet military aggression.

Security of the Frontier Areas.

13. The military authorities took over from the gendarmerie early in the year the manning and control of the Persian frontier posts; during the quarter under review, two further steps were taken to increase the security of the frontier zones. In both of these cases action was accompanied by friction with the Government and civil authorities, who maintained that they had not an adequate share in the taking of these decisions.

14. From September onwards the General Staff undertook measures to round up and transport to an internment camp at Badrabad near Khorramabad in South-West Persia elements of the population of Azerbaijan and Northern Khorassan who were considered either to be immigrants from Russia and potential fifth columnists or Persian nationals who were unduly in sympathy with the Azerbaijan Democrat régime and the Russians. The Chief of the General Staff kept the military attaché informed of the progress of these measures and told him that the number removed to the transit camp in the south had reached 5,000 by the end of November. Subsequently, as the camp became full and as the process of screening proceeded, several hundred of the internees who were considered to be innocuous were set at liberty, though still remaining under supervision; these men were to be given employment in Khuzistan, somewhat to the alarm of the Governor of that province, who felt he was having wished on to him a group of men who might prove tiresome at a later date. At the end of October also the military authorities rounded up Tudeh supporters in Northern Khorassan at the frontier town of Mohammadabad, and discovered a small dump of arms at Meshed. They also arrested at Tabriz early in November a group of conspirators known as the "Azerbaijan Revenge Party."

15. The second measure taken by the military authorities was the establishment, early in November, of a belt about 50 miles wide along all of Persia's frontiers in which the movement of foreigners would be kept under supervision and their access would only be allowed with special military permits. In a conversation with the military attaché, the Chief of the General Staff sought to justify these measures by referring to the improper activities of the Russian Vice-Consul at Maku in contacting local tribesmen. He added that the measures were in no sense directed against British subjects, that the convenience of the A.I.O.C. had been considered and that *bona fide* travellers entering Persia with valid visas would be able to traverse the frontier zone without further ado.

16. In general, these measures are noteworthy both as a means of restricting Russian infiltration into Persia and as an example of the increasing tendency of the military authorities to intervene directly in administrative matters. The restriction on the movement of foreigners in particular are reminiscent of the situation existing under the Reza Shah régime.

Tribal Affairs

Fars

17. There has been some progress in the disarmament and pacification of the Qashgai. The military authorities, with the full support of the Shah, opened negotiations both with the Qashgai brothers and also direct with the subordinate khans of the Qashgai tribes, thus by-passing the Qashgai brothers and to a considerable extent undermining their influence.

18. After conversations with the Governor-General at Shiraz, Naser Khan visited Tehran in October and is reported to have been well received by the Shah. At the same time, two of his brothers, Khosro and Mohammed Hussain, who had been making trouble in their capacity as Majlis Deputies for Fars, found it advisable to leave the country and proceed to Switzerland. There was a slight check in the progress of the negotiations for disarmament when it was believed that Naser Khan had the support of the Prime Minister in resisting the demands made of him by the Chief of the General Staff; but after his reception by the Shah, these difficulties appear to have been overcome and a satisfactory solution reached.

38311

19. Disarmament proceeded slowly and about 1,000 modern rifles and a larger number of rifles of antiquated pattern have now been surrendered by the Qashgai. There is little doubt that a large number of both still remain in the hands of the tribesmen. At the end of November Government troops entered Firuzabad, the winter headquarters of the Qashgai, and were well received by the local population. The presence of this garrison is expected to accelerate the process of disarmament.

Bakhtiari

20. Some degree of unrest continued in the Bakhtiari country owing to the unpopularity of Abul Qasim Bakhtiar, the co-Governor, against whose retention in office the other Bakhtiari khans have protested to Tehran without effect. He is believed to be a protégé of Qavam-us-Saltaneh and to have paid a considerable sum for his appointment. On his return to the south early in November his opponents held an indignation meeting at the oil-field village of Lali and subsequently declared that they would deny passage to any representatives of the Central Government so long as Abul Qasim remained Governor. They added that they would resist his return by force of arms, and concentrated their men at two strategic points on the route of access to the tribal winter area.

21. The Chief of the General Staff told military attaché at the end of November that he did not take a serious view of the situation and that he had warned the khans of the consequences of any disturbances and had urged them to surrender their arms before the Government took forcible measures to collect them. The other co-Governor, Manuchehr Asad, who was the bearer of this message, was refused passage by the dissidents and cut off from his winter quarters; at the request of the Persian Government he was therefore given accommodation by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company at the oil-field town of Masjid-i-Suleiman. Abul Qasim meanwhile remains near Isfahan, outside the area affected.

22. The Boir Ahmedi have continued to show reluctance to disarm, and their leader has described to the Acting British Consul-General at Ahwaz his various fears and difficulties. He was given no encouragement not to comply with the Government's orders. He made a "token" surrender of about 100 antiquated rifles at the end of the summer, but has ignored the rest.

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Public Health

23. The Public Health authorities have been active in quarantine matters, and the Minister, Dr. Iqbal, made various visits to frontier posts in order to ensure that the quarantine arrangements and the inoculations against cholera were being carried out satisfactorily. In addition to the outbreaks of cholera in Egypt and Pakistan, which caused the Persian Government to place many restrictions on travellers from other Middle Eastern countries, some excitement was caused in November by rumours of an outbreak of plague in a group of five small villages north of Kermanshah. These reports gave the Iraqi Government an opportunity to retaliate against the Persian travel restrictions by imposing a ban on entry into Iraq of all travellers from Persia. After investigations had been made by the Ministry of Health and the Pasteur Institute, it was stated that the outbreak was not one of plague but of pulmonary anthrax; nevertheless, some uncertainty still seems to attach to the exact nature of the disease.

24. A severe local earthquake occurred on 1st October in the village of Daulatabad, near Qain, with a death toll of over 400; further shocks a fortnight later resulted in the destruction of five villages in the Birjand area, with further loss of life.

Economic Development

25. Economic problems received scant attention, the minds of Ministers and Deputies being alike preoccupied with the North Persian oil question. The seven-year plan and the Morrison-Knudsen report were referred to a special committee, with instructions to make specific recommendations, but with Qavam's fall it is now possible that the seven-year plan will be allowed to fade into the background.

26. A determined effort was made by the Governor of the Bank Melli to induce the Government to accept the devaluation of the rial. The International Monetary Fund has already protested to Persia against the maintenance of a dual rate of exchange, but M. Ebtehaj's endeavours to stabilise the rate at about 200 rials met with such opposition that he was obliged to withdraw his proposal. He is now endeavouring to stabilise the free market rate at about 200 rials, but without any definite result so far. Owing to the uncertainty as to the future rate of exchange, the Exchange Control Commission granted

practically no permits during the quarter for the payment of imported goods, with the result that trade was seriously restricted.

27. A Bill restricting the activities of foreign traders was tabled by the Minister of National Economy in October and was referred to a parliamentary commission. The Bill contains many objectionable features, including the reservation to Persian nationals of all agencies of foreign firms. With the change of Government it is not yet known whether the Bill will now become law.

28. Little progress was made with public works in Azerbaijan. The work on the new extension of the railway continued; the number of men employed was not great and unemployment in Azerbaijan continued. With the expected abandonment of the seven-year plan now that the new Government has been formed, it is to be feared that no new public works will be ordered and the distress and unemployment will continue and cause hardship in the winter and early spring.

Labour and Trade Unions' Affairs

29. Continued uncertainty regarding the fate of the Ministry of Labour obstructed progress, and the Ministry's officials, unwilling to add to the opposition already directed at them, avoided positive action. No new labour legislation was promulgated and little was done to implement existing legislation. It now seems probable that the present machine of the Ministry of Labour will, under the new Government, continue to operate under the control of an under-secretary, who will be supervised by the Minister of National Economy and will answer through him to the Majlis.

30. Trade union affairs have made no progress. The Trade Union Congress held in October–November was unsuccessful, the Government-sponsored unions (E.S.K.I.) and the independent unions (E.M.K.A.) being unable to agree on the composition of a joint executive committee. The independents broke away and held their own congress, only to add to general bewilderment a few weeks later when one of their leaders publicly announced his movement's support of Prime Minister Qavam. The Government-sponsored E.S.K.I. unions, founded and maintained by Qavam's Democrat Party, took exception to anyone else offering allegiance to Qavam and occupied the premises of the independent union.

With the release on bail from prison of Reza Rusta on 16th November, 1947, the Tudeh trade unions were given a new lease of life, and whilst their rivals quarrel amongst themselves the Tudeh organisations are slowly gaining ground.

Foreign Relations

31. The most important question in Persia's foreign relations has already been described at the beginning of this report. There were also one or two minor developments worth recording.

United Kingdom

32. It has been agreed by His Majesty's Treasury that the 1942 Draft Railway Agreement can, entirely without prejudice, be accepted as the basis of a claim by the Persian Government for the use of Persian railways during the war. Owing to the uncertainty of the political situation it was considered inadvisable to reopen discussions with the Persian Government.

33. The financial agreement reached in London on 30th September by the Bank of England and the Bank Melli Iran was ratified by the Persian Council of Ministers, with some slight modifications. It has now been agreed to antedate the entry into force of the new agreement to the 10th August, 1947. This will involve His Majesty's Government in some additional dollar liability, but this liability is more than balanced by the waiver of the Persian claim to 60 per cent. gold on increases in her sterling balances from 15th July, 1947. The gold payment involved by such a claim would have been in the neighbourhood of £3 million.

U.S.S.R.

34. Soviet propaganda gave considerable publicity to allegations that the Persian Government had been wilfully obstructing the emigration of Armenians to the Soviet Union. The campaign was started by a Tass message at the end of September, to which the Persian Government issued a denial. The Persian Government appears to have stopped emigration owing to complaints from former emigrants, who had subsequently escaped, about the shocking conditions these people met with on arrival in the Soviet Union. Brought to the capital under Russian auspices, a group of some 500 Armenians from the provinces was held

up in Tehran without means of support. The Persian Government subsequently arranged their resettlement in Persia, while issuing a statement that they were entirely free to leave the country if they wished to do so, and that the Government was exercising no pressure on them either to remain or to leave.

35. The Soviet press and wireless continued throughout the quarter to make much play of the measures taken by the military authorities in Azerbaijan, reported in paragraph 14 above, which they represented as being repressive and dictatorial steps taken against democratic sympathisers.

36. The Soviet Consul at Ahwaz showed signs of considerable activity during the quarter. Accompanied by three members of his staff he made an extensive visit to the oil-fields of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company early in November, and asked a number of questions about the company's operations. He was concerned both with technical matters and, more particularly, with labour and political conditions in the area. He also took advantage of the arrival at Khorramshahr of a Soviet ship, the s.s. *Cheta*, with a cargo of sugar, to arrange a dinner on board to which the local authorities were invited, and during which hopeful references were made to the possibility of more frequent calls by Soviet vessels at that port. He also made a tour by car of the neighbourhood of Khorramshahr and appeared particularly interested in the nearby Iraqi frontier.

United States

37. Considerable interest attaches to the negotiations in progress for the supply of American armaments to Persia. A member of the United States Embassy made a public statement at the end of December defining the position as follows: A Persian Purchasing Mission went to Washington in May 1947 to buy American surplus military stores and asked for credit terms. In June the United States Government had made proposals based on the grant of a 30-million-dollar credit for this purpose and gave the Persian Government five months in which to decide whether or not to accept them. In November the Persian Government had asked for two months more in which to make up their minds. This request was sent on to Washington by the United States Ambassador and had

now been approved by the United States Government.

38. In addition to this credit, which is to be divided between the gendarmerie and the army, including the air force, respectively, in proportion of 5 million to 25 million dollars, the Shah and the Persian military authorities have expressed to the United States Ambassador their interest in the immediate purchase of new military equipment to a still higher total value. This proposal is still in its early stages and no decisions have been taken.

39. In addition to the visit by the Armed Forces Sub-Committee of the Senate at the end of September, recorded in the last report, there have been two other visits of Congress representatives: that of two members of the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs at the end of October, and that of members of the Senate Finance Sub-Committee early in November. The doings of these delegations, which were much publicised in Tehran, were made use of by the Left-Wing press and others to denounce American imperialist designs in Persia and the alleged pro-American attitude of the Qavam Government. The same circles also continued to attack the American Ambassador for interfering in Persian affairs, especially since his statement of 11th September recorded in the last report; later in the quarter less importance was given to this personal aspect as Mr. Allen was absent from Tehran more than once visiting Turkey, India and Pakistan.

India and Pakistan

40. The Pakistan Government appointed a chargé d'affaires at Tehran at the end of October, who was well received by the Persian Government and used as a channel for messages of goodwill to Pakistan from Persia, and for the transmission of voluntary assistance to the refugees in Pakistan, for which a public subscription was opened.

41. The Government of India assumed charge of Indian interests by the appointment of an ambassador, Mr. Ali Zaheer, who, after some delays owing to the cholera quarantine regulations, arrived at Tehran with his staff on 21st November. At the end of the quarter he had not yet presented his letters of credence owing to the change of Government, and it is possible that the Persians were not altogether adverse to this delay in the opening of official diplomatic relations with the Indian Dominion.

Afghanistan

42. No satisfactory settlement was reached in the Helmand River dispute. The Persian Government did not proceed with their intention to refer this question to the United Nations. As an alternative, the State Department suggested to both the Persian and Afghan representatives at Washington that the United States Government would be willing to help effect a settlement and proposed that a committee of "neutral" experts might be sent to Afghanistan to establish the facts. At the same time, further negotiations could take place for a settlement for the future. The Persian Prime Minister also asked His Majesty's Government to urge this suggestion on the Afghan Government.

43. A deputation from the Ministry of Agriculture visited the affected area round Seistan in October, accompanied by American agricultural experts, but appears to have reached no definite conclusion. At the end of October the Afghan Embassy informed the Persian Government that the flow of water in the Helmand River would probably shortly be resumed; water, in fact, reached Persian territory on 3rd November, enabling winter crops to be sown and refugees to return to Seistan from Zahidan. It is still not clear, however, whether the shortage of water—which, had it been prolonged, would have caused considerable famine and distress next year—was due to natural causes or to Afghan interference; the first explanation seems, however, the more probable.

Turkey

44. It was rumoured in the press that a further pact was to be concluded between Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan on the lines of the Saadabad Treaty of 1937. This story was without foundation and was probably put in circulation by the pro-Russian press, which was quick to invent stories of encirclement of Russia under American auspices. An attempt was made to further Turko-Persian cultural relations by the visit to Tehran of Turkish football and wrestling teams in October. Perhaps owing to a confusion of function between these teams the last football match degenerated into a free fight, and the Turks declared that they would never play against Persians again; but calm was restored and face saved by a statement that the Turks had accepted an invitation to visit Persia again next year.

Miscellaneous

45. It was announced during the quarter that Ibn Saud had asked the Persian Government for a resumption of diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and Persia. It was also announced that the Persian and

Italian Governments had decided to raise their respective legations to the rank of embassies. New Danish and Brazilian Ministers have arrived at Tehran and the Netherlands Chargé d'Affaires is to be appointed Minister early in the New Year.

E 826/25/34

No. 3

PERSIA: FORMATION OF NEW SOCIALIST TUDEH PARTY

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Attlee. (Received 21st January)

(No. 12)
Sir,

*Tehran,
14th January, 1948*

With reference to paragraph 10 of my report for quarter ended 30th September, 1947, which was transmitted to you under cover of my despatch No. 435, I have the honour to report that on 4th January certain members of the Tudeh Party in Tehran announced that they had left the party and would organise a new Socialist Tudeh Party.

2. A manifesto issued by the new party praised the action taken by the Tudeh Party in working for the welfare of the people but criticised its "tactical mistakes and defects in organisation." The manifesto complained that the party's leaders were unwilling to recognise reformist and progressive groups within the party and, by refusing during the past four years to hold annual congresses, had denied party members the opportunity of expressing their views. It ended with a declaration of the policy of the new party which may be summarised as follows:—

- (a) The Socialists will continue to pursue the ideology of the Tudeh Party.
- (b) The Socialists will further the more progressive aims of the Tudeh Party, avoiding the tactical mistakes and organisational defects of their former leaders.
- (c) The rights of the workers will be defended and the influence of imperialists will be resisted.
- (d) The Socialists will follow the principles of "scientific socialism."
- (e) The Socialists, recognising the Central United Council of Trade Unions as the only workers' organisation in Persia, expect that the recommendations made by El Aris regarding reform of the Central United Council will be given effect.

Expressing the hope that the leaders of the Tudeh Party would change their attitude in order that reunion of the old and new parties might soon be possible, the Socialists gave the assurance that they would fight for freedom at the side of the Tudeh Party.

3. The twelve signatories to the manifesto include members of the Central Executive of the Tudeh Party and members of the party's Provincial Committee for Tehran. There are, however, no leading Tudeh personalities among them. The most important are Khalil Maleki (ex-member of the Central Executive Committee), Anvar Khomeini (member of the Committee for Youth Organisations) and Hussein Malek (in charge of the party's educational and training activities).

4. The issue of the Socialist manifesto brought immediate response from the Tudeh Party which, in a public statement, belittled the action of the secessionists. The separation was referred to as "an unimportant incident in the evolution of the Tudeh Party." The party executive would, it was stated, make certain concessions in order to preserve unity but was not prepared to modify its policies. This statement bore the signatures of Dr. Radmanesh and Dr. Keshavarz who, after Reza Rusta, are leading personalities in the Tudeh movement. Rusta's name, it should be mentioned, has not appeared in any of the statements issued by the two sides. The Central Committee of the Tudeh Youth Organisation and the Central United Council of Trade Unions both issued statements supporting the Tudeh Party and its leaders and condemning the action of the Socialist group.

5. In November 1947 reports reached me that a vote had been taken on the question of Russian direction of party policy, and that a faction headed by Khalil Maleki had

strongly opposed such direction. A few active members of the Tudeh trade union organisation resigned from the Political Party at that time and the present withdrawals may be a sequel. The individuals whose signatures appear on the Socialist manifesto have, I am told, been in contact with the Persian Ministry of Labour for some months seeking a promise of Government support and co-operation. They were informed that the Ministry would not, on labour questions, negotiate with Rusta and certain other leaders of the Tudeh, but that if the organisation was reconstituted on a more patriotic basis co-operation might be developed.

6. Reaction in Government circles is cautious and opinion on the value of the new party is reserved until its activities

reveal its true nature. The view has been expressed that the secession may be a deliberate plan to ensure continuance of Tudeh policies and aims in the event of any future dissolution of the Tudeh Party itself. Disappointment has been voiced by individual workers who are members of Tudeh organisations. They regret that a movement which publicised its unity and solidarity has developed internal differences and they are uncertain where their real loyalties lie.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Bagdad and Moscow, to the British Middle East Office, and to the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

I have &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL

E 1807/1807/34

No. 4

OUTSTANDING EVENTS IN AZERBAIJAN

Period 1st July-31st December, 1947

(Communicated in Tabriz despatch No. 11 of 15th January, 1948; Received 9th February)

The outstanding events in Azerbaijan during the period under review revolved round the proposed Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement and the first anniversary of the liberation of the province from the "Democrats."

2. During July the province had been preoccupied with the remaining elections to the new Majlis. By August talk was revived of the possible grant to the U.S.S.R. of the oil concession. The population were overwhelmingly against it and feared a return of Soviet methods. Public confidence was shaken. Intimidated by well-founded reports of Soviet troop movements near the neighbouring frontier and fearing a recurrence of political unrest, not a few departed for Tehran. Trade received a set-back. Long-term projects remained projects for lack of capital from doubting merchants and landowners. Nervousness was not allayed in September by the rounding-up and despatch to the south by the Persian military authorities of some 4,000 "muhajirs," consisting of Azerbaijanis or Armenians who had lived in Russia or were considered to have been supporters of the Azerbaijan Democrat régime. In October this operation con-

tinued and troops were concentrated to the north-west of Tabriz and Lake Urmia, covering Julfa and the frontier.

3. Alarmist rumours had already died down when news was received of the rejection by the Majlis of the proposed Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement. For the Azerbaijanis this was a surprise. Their joy knew no bounds and left no room for doubt as to their patriotism and attachment to the Persian Crown. Their only fear was what the Russians might do now.

4. It was widely believed that:—

- (a) if the Russians took military action in the province, it would be at once or not at all;
- (b) failing military action, the Russians would arrange for the infiltration of highly skilled agents to—
 - (i) stir up feeling against the Central Government;
 - (ii) spread rumours calculated to keep people in constant fear of Russian action, thus putting a brake on long-term planning by merchants and landowners, and hindering the economic development of the province;

(iii) incite factory workers against owners and peasantry against landlords;

(iv) effect sabotage;

(v) work up Kurdistan to a state of ferment, thus harassing the Persian civil and military authorities.

5. The only notable reaction from Moscow was a wireless broadcast attacking the Prime Minister.

6. Civil and military authorities in the province calmly prepared throughout November to meet all eventualities. There was no question of appeasement of the Russians or of their protégés in Tabriz and other centres. A stricter security control was enforced. All foreigners, including consular officials, now required passes for journeys north, east or west of Tabriz. The Russians, for whom the regulation was intended, were hit most. The Soviet Consul-General was incensed. But what mattered to the Persians was the larger issue of infiltration. Soviet agents had already penetrated into the former Democrat stronghold of Sarab, and one, posing as an Indian doctor, had been arrested. Then some half-dozen leaders of the "Azerbaijan Vengeance Party" (Hizb-i-Intiqam) were seized while holding a secret meeting, and were found to be in possession of documents of Soviet origin. A further twenty-four persons were arrested on charges of having been associated with the Vengeance Party.

7. On 25th November an Imperial Firman was broadcast. The Shah, who had previously granted a partial amnesty to collaborators with the Democrats after his visit in May and June to Azerbaijan, now in what was a vague statement, wrongly described by the press as an amnesty, declared that his clemency should be exercised in favour of the sedentary and tribal populations in the provinces of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan and the district of Zenjan (Khamseh) as long as they did nothing against the State in future. This measure is understood to apply only to those who, through ignorance, were led astray.

8. In anticipation of the first anniversary of the liberation of Azerbaijan on 13th December an intensification of the war of nerves initiated after the rejection of the proposed oil agreement was directed over the mobile secret wireless transmitter across the Soviet frontier which had been used by Pishevari in Azerbaijan. Broad-

casts in Turki, Kurdish and Persian promised the "liberation" of the province from "reactionary elements." The people were called upon to rise and aid the forces who would come in from the north on this anniversary. Nervousness prevailed but there were no signs of panic. Military and gendarmerie patrols were heavily reinforced and the curfew was more rigidly applied than ever.

9. The 13th December arrived and all was quiet and nothing happened to mar the official and popular celebration in Azerbaijan of the first anniversary of the liberation of the province. The Azerbaijanis once more demonstrated their patriotism and dislike of foreign interference.

Elections

10. In July, Mohammed Said, a former Prime Minister who had no illusions about the U.S.S.R., was elected deputy for Rezaieh. Of all the Deputies elected in Azerbaijan to the new Majlis only he and Hassan Taqizadeh (Deputy for Tabriz and until recently ambassador in London) really enjoyed the public confidence as being likely to work effectively for the good of the province. It was generally hoped that Taqizadeh would become president of the Majlis. The important Kurdish centre of Mahabad wished to see a local candidate representing it in the Majlis but by the end of the year no elections had yet been held owing to the intrigues of two candidates from Tehran.

Internal Affairs

11. Throughout the period under review in Azerbaijan there was discontent with the Central Government and most of its officials. The Government, people felt, had failed to live up to its promises. Its officials were, for the most part, lacking in public spirit. Wild accusations of corruption were made. The efficient and conscientious official was frustrated on all sides. Due to lack of confidence in the future no capital was forthcoming from the public for any long-term venture such as the irrigation schemes in the Tabriz and Rezaieh districts and the establishment of a cement factory in Tabriz. The large sums allotted by the Central Government for public works arrived all too slowly, in dribblets, to provide jobs for the increasing numbers of unemployed. Funds for agricultural development were not forthcoming. Even the donations made by the Shah during his recent visit seemed slow in

materialising. Feeling turned against Ali Mansur, the Governor-General, who was now held largely responsible for the lack of progress in the work of reconstruction. Spurred on by his critics he first redressed the grievances of the peasantry in regard to their share in the crops, thus frustrating the attempts of Azerbaijan Democrat supporters and Soviet propagandists to make political capital out of them. (Workers in the spinning, weaving, leather, match and other factories were already content as they continued to be paid the same wages as they received under the Democrat régime. He next devoted his attention to the general questions of security in the province and efficiency and discipline in its officials.

12. Unemployment, however, was the Governor-General's most difficult problem and one with which he was ill-equipped to deal. Here words and promises were of no avail.

13. In August the local newspaper *Tabriz* declared that the Central Government had wasted eight months doing

practically nothing and that the people had suffered as much in that time as they did in a year of rule under the Democrats. The Central Government had had its chance and lost it.

Public Works

14. In November it was claimed that over 7,000 persons were employed on the construction of the railway between Mianeh and Tabriz. Between Mianeh and Tehran the resumption of railway goods traffic was made possible in December by the completion of the repairs to the bridges between Mianeh and Zenjan demolished by the retreating Democrats in December 1946. Work on roads and public buildings proceeded slowly. Large numbers remained without employment and an extended measure of poor relief was indicated for the winter, especially in Tabriz.

LESLIE POTT,
Consul-General.

Tabriz, 15th January, 1948

E. 1809/25/34

No. 5

PERSIA: RESTORED UNITY OF THE TUDEH PARTY

Trade Union Activity

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 9th February)

(No. 29) *Tehran,*
Sir, *28th January, 1948*

With reference to my despatch No. 12 of 14th January regarding the formation of a Socialist Tudeh Party, I have the honour to inform you that according to the Persian press the Socialists have rejoined the Tudeh Party.

2. A second proclamation has apparently been issued by the Socialists admitting that, without the co-operation of the Tudeh Party, a Left-wing movement is impossible and that the Socialist group has therefore been dissolved. The signatories to this proclamation include Khalil Maleki, who is reputed to be the leader of the secessionists and who is now being violently attacked in the Tudeh press for engineering the split on behalf of British imperialism.

3. The restored unity of the Tudeh Party has been publicised by the issue, in the name of the Central United Council of Trade Unions (Tudeh), of an open letter

to the Minister of National Economy, who at present acts also as Minister of Labour. The letter reminds the Minister that the Central United Council is recognised by the World Federation of Trade Unions as the only organisation representative of Persian workers, and that this recognition was confirmed following the visit to Persia in spring 1947 of a W.F.T.U. delegation. After complaining of the activities of the Ministry of Labour and of the Government-sponsored E.S.K.I. Unions, the Central United Council demands complete freedom for its activities, requests formal investigation of illegal activities of the Ministry of Labour and of the E.S.K.I. Unions, and asks compensation for financial losses incurred by the Tudeh Union and its members.

4. There has not yet been any official Government comment on either the dissolution of the Socialist Group or on the open

resumption of activity by the Tudeh Party through the channel of its trade union.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Bagdad and Moscow, to the British Middle East

Office and to the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 2232/2232/34

No. 6

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

Monthly Report for January 1948

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 17th February)

(No. 37. Confidential) *Tehran,*
Sir, *10th February, 1948*

I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during January 1948. In internal affairs the prevalent atmosphere was one of inactivity owing to the weakness of the Hakimi Government and the negative and cautious nature of its policy, particularly as regards economic development. There were no outstanding developments in foreign affairs, though some public interest was aroused by talk in the Majlis and elsewhere about Bahrein, and by demonstrations in favour of Moslem interests in Palestine and Pakistan.

Internal Affairs

2. Ibrahim Hakimi's Government obtained a vote of confidence of 76 votes out of 90 in the Majlis on 7th January. The Government's declaration of policy was lacking in any outstanding proposals apart from general advocacy of retrenchment and reform. The Prime Minister emphasised that he would limit himself to such urgent and practicable measures as he could carry out in a short time. One of the first acts of the Government was to abolish military government in Tehran on 13th January, followed by a similar measure taken on 24th January and applied to the towns of Ahwaz, Khorramshahr, Behbahan, Shiraz and Saqqiz. The Government also took certain measures to limit extravagant official expenditure on such things as motor-cars and missions abroad; both in this and in the suppression of military government it sought to meet some of the principal criticisms made against its predecessor. The Government, however, continued throughout the month to give an impression of weakness, and there were signs of a decline in public security both in the Tehran neighbourhood and further afield. By the end of the month the Minister for

Foreign Affairs had not yet been appointed, there was talk of the formation of a new Government and, particularly in Court circles, about the desirability of constitutional reform.

3. In the latter half of the month, however, the prospects of some much-needed economic measures were brightened by the passage through the Majlis, on 22nd January, of a provisional budget law covering expenditure at the 1947 rate up to the end of the current Persian year (21st March). The law included a provision for removing from the ordinary budget and earmarking for capital works 40 per cent. of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company royalties from the beginning of next year, to be increased later in the following year to 70 per cent., and in subsequent years to the total yield to the Persian Government of the operations of the company. The report of Dr. Naficy, who was appointed by the Qavam Government to summarise the most practicable measures in the framework of the so-called Seven-Year Plan, was also submitted to the Prime Minister during the month. It recommended a total expenditure of Rials 21,000 million (between £100 million and £150 million) to be spent principally on agriculture, irrigation, communications and industrial development. It also made provision for the formation of an Iranian Oil Company to explore and exploit oil deposits in areas not already included under foreign concessions. The financing of this programme was to be carried out primarily from national resources, including oil royalties, though recourse would be had to the International Bank for a loan amounting to about one-third of the total expenditure which would be necessary at the end of the second year.

4. There has been a good deal of opposition, both in the Majlis and in the press, to

the idea of a foreign loan, though this opposition is in many cases founded on the misapprehension that the loan would be exclusively a United States one. The principal opponent of the loan in the Majlis has been Mr. Taqizadeh, whose ground of objection—a much sounder one—is that unless and until the corrupt and inefficient administration is cleaned up any foreign loan will be either stolen or misused. Mr. Naficy himself takes the sensible view that at first only a small loan can be hoped for, and that the Persians must, by their own actions, demonstrate that they deserve a larger loan at a later stage of the Seven-Year Plan. The Prime Minister has not yet committed himself in support of the Naficy programme, but the earmarking of the oil royalties under the budget law is interpreted as a prelude to its implementation.

5. The continued drought, which has lasted since the summer, gave rise to considerable apprehension about the food situation next year, and resulted in measures being taken by the Government to cancel all permits issued previously for the export of rice, barley and other food grains. The anxiety was to some extent assuaged by the break in the weather which occurred in the last week of the month and resulted in considerable snowfalls over most of the country. The food situation in 1948 is, however, likely to be extremely difficult. Foreign trade remained practically at a standstill owing to the continued hold-up in the issue of permits for the purchase of foreign exchange; this resulted from continued uncertainty about the future of the exchange rate, which was the subject of acrimonious discussion between the president of the National Bank, Mr. Ebtehaj, and the Government. At the end of the month it was hoped that some definite decision would be taken within a few days and that the issue of foreign exchange permits would be resumed.

6. Surprise was caused at the beginning of the month by the announcement of a split in the Tudeh Party, twelve leading members of which announced their intention of forming a separate Socialist Tudeh group. There was some uncertainty about the origin of this break-away, and some reason for thinking that the Soviet Government had secretly encouraged the proposal. The immediate reaction from Moscow, however, was to denounce the dissidents as tools of imperialist policy, and after being a seven-day wonder in Tehran political circles the separatist group collapsed ignominiously

and it was announced that Tudeh unity had been restored. This strange episode had an echo in trade union activities—the original manifesto of the Socialist Tudeh group having drawn from the Central United Council of Trades Unions a public statement of allegiance to the Tudeh Party executive and a condemnation of the split. When the episode was over and unity restored, the Central United Council sent to the Minister of National Economy an open letter demanding freedom for the union's activities, and attacking the Ministry of Labour and the Government-sponsored (E.S.K.I.) unions. In Isfahan the Government attempted to combat increasing Tudeh influence by propaganda on behalf of the E.S.K.I. unions and by applying pressure on independent workers' organisations to make them join E.S.K.I.

7. Other points of interest during the month affecting the organisation of labour were the completion by M. Colombain, the International Labour Organisation expert on co-operative societies, of his tour of the provinces, followed by his submission of recommendations to the Government; and the findings of a committee which had been set up to consider the problem of tuberculosis among industrial workers. The committee's report to the Majlis proposed an increase in the premium for insurance against industrial injury, and measures to make the insuring agency responsible for the treatment of all tuberculosis amongst industrial workers.

8. A Bill, sponsored by the Minister of National Economy, for the control of foreign traders was examined by a parliamentary commission. The effect of the Bill in its original form would be to reserve to Persian nationals or firms the representation in Persia of foreign firms; in the case of selling agencies or main distributors, the staff of such concerns could be either Persian or that of the exporting country. The Bill contained many other provisions which would render the existence of foreign traders somewhat precarious and would effectively preclude the entry of foreign capital. A memorandum was sent to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs specifying the grounds of objection of His Majesty's Government to this Bill, and similar representations were made by other diplomatic missions, including the United States Embassy. The Bill was amended by the Parliamentary Commission and sent back to the Minister of National Economy

to be redrafted and submitted for discussion by the Majlis.

Conditions in the Provinces

9. Anxiety and uncertainty continued in Azerbaijan. The tendency of individual businessmen to wind up their activities in this exposed province and to carry them on elsewhere was as marked as it had been in the autumn, and no great progress was made in public works. Work was, however, continued on the construction of the railway between Tabriz and Mianeh, and the line between Mianeh and Tehran—which had been closed since the events of December 1946—is now again in operation. Soviet propaganda in the army and by clandestine wireless transmissions from Trans-Caucasia continued to cause anxiety, and it is believed that the so-called Azerbaijan Revenge Party (the arrest of members of which was reported in my last Quarterly Report for 1947) was under Russian inspiration and directed by a Soviet citizen.

10. Tribal conditions in Southern Persia remain unchanged. Little progress was made in the disarmament of the Qashgai, and tension continued in the Bakhtiari country owing to discontent with the Governor, Abol Qassim. Matters were not, however, brought to a head owing largely to Abol Qassim's decision not to force the issue, and there is some ground for the belief that, with the fall of the Qavam Government, this blackguard's term of office may soon come to an end. The process of screening, at the camp near Khorramabad, of suspected pro-Soviet elements arrested in the north continued rapidly, and by mid-January only about 100 of the worst cases remained in the camp under detention. The others, numbering about 5,000, including a large proportion of women and children, were, with the exception of some 300 young men taken for normal military service, distributed in towns in west and south-west Persia, where it is intended to find them employment. Though no longer confined, they are to be kept under police surveillance. The disposal of further "doubtful" elements from Azerbaijan and elsewhere appears to be undecided.

Foreign Affairs

11. Relations with the Soviet Union continued to be strained. Soviet propaganda attacked Hakimi on his assumption of office, pointing out that his anti-Soviet atti-

tude during his former tenure of office had not been forgotten. Notwithstanding a report that the 5,000 *émigrés* from Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, who took refuge in Trans-Caucasia during the last year, had been disbanded and removed to other parts of the Soviet Union, apprehension continued to exist about Soviet intentions in the spring. Such fears were enhanced when it became known that the Soviet Government's note warning the Persian Government of the consequences of the rejection by the Majlis in October of the Qavam-Sadchikov letters (see my last Quarterly Report for 1947) was followed on 31st January by a further note protesting against the presence of American military instructors and advisers in Persia, and stating that the Soviet Government regarded it as a breach of Persia's obligations under the 1921 treaty.

12. One or two Left-wing Deputies and various writers of newspaper articles have demanded action against British interests, both in connexion with the A.I.O.C. concession and over the status of Bahrein. The Bahrein agitation gradually gathered force during the month, and it became focussed round the appearance in Tehran of a self-appointed Bahrein representative, one Abdullah Zireh, who had interviews with a number of Deputies, published various newspaper articles, and urged that a Deputy for Bahrein should be appointed to the Majlis. At the end of the month a Private Members' Bill, signed by twenty-five Deputies, was tabled at the Majlis urging the Government to assert sovereignty and take over the administration of Bahrein. The usual attacks on British and American policy were made in Majlis speeches and newspaper articles, and the visit during the House of Commons recess of Mr. Anthony Eden to Tehran and the A.I.O.C. areas was a fruitful field for irresponsible conjecture. The visit to the Persian Gulf ports and to Tehran of Admiral Palliser, Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, was, however, correctly interpreted as a courtesy visit and was not exploited or misrepresented.

13. An appeal was launched by certain interested parties on behalf of fellow-Muslims in Palestine and Pakistan. A movement for subscribing financial aid to the Palestine Arabs and Pakistan refugees was given some additional publicity when a large meeting was held, on 11th January, in the courtyard of the principal Tehran Mosque to hear addresses and appeals by

religious leaders. The movement was led by a Persian leader, Sheikh Ayatollah Kashani, and was supported by the Mullahs. There is no sign, however, that it was fomented or encouraged by the Government, and the organisers were at pains to emphasise the fact that they were not calling for any agitation against Jews resident in Persia, and that they discountenanced any suggestion of violence.

14. After a long delay owing to the change of Government and the hold-up in the appointment of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Indian Ambassador, his Excellency Sayed Ali Zahir, presented his credentials on 26th January.

15. The forthcoming transfer to Washington of the American Ambassador, Mr. George Allen, was announced early in the month, and his farewell address to the Irano-American Cultural Relations Society was the occasion for a considerable amount

of newspaper comment on American policy. No decision was taken on the proposed United States credit of 10 million dollars for the purchase of military armaments, though discussion continued throughout the month. The United States Government prolonged the period of option on this offer, first until 5th February and then until 26th February, and a Bill was submitted to the Majlis on 1st February.

16. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Moscow and Bagdad; Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy, Bagdad; British Middle East Office, Cairo; the Political Intelligence Centre, Middle East, through British Middle East Office; the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi; and all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

JOHN H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 3209/2232/34

No. 7

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

Monthly Report for February 1948

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 10th March)

(No. 70. Confidential)

Sir, *Tehran, 3rd March, 1948*

With reference to my despatch No. 37 (Monthly Report for January), I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during February 1948. The principal development during the month was the exchange of notes between the Soviet and Persian Governments on the subject of the activity of the United States Military Mission in Persia, followed by the approval by the Majlis of the \$10 million credit for the purchase of armaments in the United States. In internal affairs the position of the Government remained weak, and the general impression of inactivity continued. A minor sensation was caused by the murder in Tehran of a well-known journalist, Mohammed Massoud.

Foreign Affairs

2. The purpose of the Soviet note, dated 31st January, would seem to have been to obtain the expulsion of the United States Military Mission and to establish a treaty pretext for later intervention in Persian territory. It was also so timed as to influence the Majlis debate on the credit for the purpose of United States military

equipment. The note alleged that the activities of the mission, and various other strategic preparations which it stated were being made in Persian territory, constituted a threat to the frontiers of the Soviet Union and a violation of the Soviet-Persian Treaty of 1921. It called upon the Persian Government to take immediate action to put an end to this state of affairs. In their reply, dated 4th February, the Persian Government rejected as unfounded the accusations of strategic preparations against Russia, and disapproved the various allegations one by one; they maintained that the Soviet note represented interference with Persian internal affairs, and stated that the employment of American advisers for the Persian army had no relation to the situation envisaged in the 1921 treaty and was in no way contrary to it. On the other hand, the Persian reply stated that Soviet activity in giving asylum to and encouraging the Azerbaijan rebels and the Barzani Kurds did constitute a violation of article 5 of the treaty, and called upon the Soviet Government to terminate these unfriendly activities on Soviet territory against the security of Persia. The diplomatic exchange terminated with this note, in spite of

rumours—which proved to be unfounded—that the Soviet Embassy sent a further note towards the end of the month.

3. The United States Ambassador, Mr. George Allen, who left Persia during the month on his appointment to Washington, issued a statement on 4th February in the form of a farewell address to the Persian Press Association, pointing out that the Soviet note seemed an obvious attempt to exert influence in a matter then before the Majlis, and was objectionable in that it included misstatements of fact and finished with an implied threat. He emphasised that the American advisers would not remain in Persia for one moment longer than the Persian Government wished them to stay, and that the United States interest in the matter was limited to two things—the desire that Persia should spend its money in a way which would be to its own best advantage, and that Persia should remain entirely free to make its own choice unhampered by threats or menaces. The statement that the continuance of United States military advisers in Persia was purely a matter for the Persian Government to decide was also repeated in the form of an official note sent by the United States embassy to the Persian Government, the substance of which was released to the press towards the end of the month. This note also referred to the United States Gendarmerie Mission and enquired whether or not it was the wish of the Persian Government that this mission should remain.

4. In spite of the Soviet Government's attempt to exert diplomatic pressure, the Majlis, on 17th February, by 79 votes to 6, passed the Bill approving the credits for United States armaments. The amount of these credits, which had originally been 30 million dollars, was reduced in the Bill as finally submitted to the Majlis to 10 million dollars only—6½ million dollars for the army and 3½ million dollars for the police and gendarmerie. These credits will be used solely in the purchase of the arms and equipment *in situ* in the United States; the arrangements for the payment of packing, transport and other charges are not yet clear, since the Bill stipulates that these are to be defrayed in the United States and repaid in a similar manner to the credits for the actual purchase. It is unlikely that such an arrangement could be carried out in the United States without special congressional approval.

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5. The prevalent feeling in the country is one of apprehension about possible Russian action later in the year. It is conjectured that Russian action might take the form of the infiltration of hostile elements and threats to public security, both in the Northern Provinces and in other tribal areas. The return of the Azerbaijan Democrats and of the Barzani Kurds, with Russian support, is generally feared, and there is some evidence of recent Russian attempts to contact the Muhajjirs, who, after screening in a concentration camp, have been distributed throughout South-West Persia (see report for January, paragraph 10) and even as far east as Shiraz, and to cause unrest among the Qashgai. The Tudeh Party has also been reorganising and increasing its activities in different parts of the country in the course of the last few months (see paragraph 16 below). The Persian military authorities, who have sent reinforcements to the Northern Provinces, are believed to be training and arming levies raised among certain tribes in the North as a further measure of defence.

6. On 18th February Alfred Holland, the correspondent of *The Times* in Persia, was requested by the Persian Government to leave the country. Although no official statement has been published, the Persian Government took exception to a message which Mr. Holland had telegraphed to his paper. He admitted the indiscreet nature of the message, which was not, of course, published by *The Times*. The Persian Government extended the date by which Mr. Holland was required to leave Persia, but would not agree to reverse their decision. Mr. Holland left Persia on 23rd February.

7. The newly appointed Egyptian Ambassador, Assal Bey, presented his letters of credence to the Shah on 26th February. The Italian Ambassador, M. Rossi Longhi, also presented new letters on the raising of the status of his mission from legation to embassy.

Internal Situation

8. The Government have continued to give an impression of inactivity and weakness, and rumours persist that it will shortly fall or be reconstituted. Several important posts in the provinces became vacant through the recall of the former Governors-General, and there was some delay in the appointment of successors. The Persian Minister at Stockholm, Mr.

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Kazimi, was appointed Foreign Minister early in the month, but there was no news of his return to Tehran. No progress was made with the Seven-Year Plan of economic development (see January report, paragraph 3), and the Prime Minister has not yet made any statement defining his attitude towards this project. Practically the only positive measure was the passage through the Majlis of a Bill supplementary to the Compulsory Education Law which, though it was passed four years ago, has remained largely ineffective. The Bill requires municipalities and local land-owners to contribute to the cost of new schools.

9. The assassination in Tehran on 12th February of Mohammed Massoud, editor of the newspaper *Mard-e-Emruz*, gave rise to considerable agitation and sensational rumours of plots against the liberty of the press. An independent journalist of Liberal views, he had been a declared enemy of Qavam es Saltaneh, who suspended his paper and caused him to go into hiding. Recently he had been taking a leading part in the agitation against the reintroduction of the veil for women, for which certain religious bodies had been pressing. His own newspaper, the day after the assassination, attributed his death to his opposition to the veil which, it said, had led to various threatening letters being sent to him. The funeral was made the occasion for demonstrations and speeches, and the whole incident was used by newspapers of the Left as an opportunity to draw attention to the dangers of a possible threat to civil liberties, of political terrorism, and even of dictatorship. The assassin eluded arrest and the agitation, which was not placated by the immediate resignation of the Chief of Police, resulted in an interpellation of the Government in the Majlis on 24th-25th February; a vote resulted in the Government obtaining the narrow (absolute) majority of 55 to 4 with 43 abstentions. The number of abstentions was widely regarded as a proof of the instability of the Government, whose early fall was expected.

10. The charges against Sayed Ali Soheili, who was Prime Minister at the time of the Tehran Conference, of interference in the 1943 elections and other abuses, were heard in the Criminal Court in the course of the month, the trial ending in his acquittal. As a leading politician he now re-enters the field as a possible candidate for office. There are also a number of other names which have been mentioned as possible members of a new Cabinet to succeed

that of Hakimi. It is, however, also possible that Mr. Hakimi will remain in power after widening the base of his Government by the inclusion of new Ministers.

11. The Council of Ministers recently approved new exchange control regulations which stipulate, *inter alia*, that 40 per cent. of the import quota shall be allocated to importers for Tehran and 60 per cent. for the provinces. The issue of the new regulations, which do not differ materially from those previously in force, brings to an end a period extending over several months, during which, owing to the controversy over financial policy (particularly in the devaluation issue), no foreign exchange at the official rate has been sold to importers.

12. The Foreign Traders' Bill has been redrafted by the Parliamentary Commission, but it still remains open to objection. The original draft contained a provision preventing non-Persian merchants from representing foreign firms. This clause has been removed, but is replaced by another preventing foreign merchants from importing. The Bill came up for discussion before the Majlis, but was talked out through lack of a quorum. Feeling in the Majlis is, however, very strongly in favour of the introduction of the Bill, and it is probable that another attempt will be made in the near future to have it passed.

Conditions in the Provinces

13. Considerable anxiety continued about the bread situation and, in spite of the fact that the drought has at last broken and resulted in rain and snowfalls in various parts of the country, the rainfall for this winter is far below the average. There was a public demonstration at Qum on 7th February owing to the shortage of bread, which resulted in riots and the looting of shops. The police were obliged to fire on the crowd, killing one man and wounding another. There were also demonstrations at Zenjan resulting in disturbances and the closing of shops. Apprehension of a future shortage of bread was also reported among the Lahuni tribe near Kermanshah in the West, and at Zabul in the East of Persia, where shortage of water in the Helmand River is expected to limit agriculture in 1948 as it did in 1947.

14. In general, however, the shortages which have already occurred appear to have been due to faulty organisation rather than to any crisis in supply, and prospects for the months up to the 1948 harvest are not,

in fact, as alarming as it was at one time feared. Considerable stocks are held, particularly in Eastern and North-Eastern Persia, which, if they are not hoarded, should prove sufficient for the coming summer. Harvest prospects in the Meshed area are thought to be good; they are normal in West Persia and in the Shiraz district, where there is expected to be a considerable surplus if further rainfall occurs. The rise of grain prices during the last few months has, however, given the Government some cause for anxiety, and the question is much in the public mind. A Government decree was issued during the month exempting imported grain from all duty or customs charges. Consignments of grain were also sent urgently to provinces where prices had risen most alarmingly, particularly to Khuzistan, and had an immediate effect on prices. One of the causes contributing to anxiety about the grain position is that, owing to the shortage of wheat in Iraq, prices in that country have risen to nearly four times those in Persia, and this has led to wholesale smuggling.

15. The shortage of wheat has caused difficulty for the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, who have continued to supply flour to their workers at the standard price in spite of the increase elsewhere, and have therefore had to face a very heavily increased demand. As stocks were dangerously low, diplomatic representations were made to the Persian Government to obtain an additional 1,000 tons of wheat and 1,000 tons of barley over and above the amounts already delivered. This will cover the company's needs to the end of April and leave them with less than a month's stock at the present rate of consumption. After that, and until the Persian harvest in August, the situation will be extremely grave unless grain is made available from abroad.

16. There were further signs of renewed Tudeh activities at Abadan, and five members of the Central Branch of the party are reported to have left Tehran for that district. A Tudeh agent named Borasjani has been active at Abadan distributing propaganda and funds. The Tudeh Party may also have been connected with the strike of one shift at the refinery on 3rd February when 600 men refused to go to work. The strike is believed to have been due partly to the high cost of living and reports of an impending scarcity of bread, and partly to

a rumour spread by agitators that the company would deduct 60 rials per month from the men's wages in order to pay for the new bus service.

17. Conditions in the Bakhtiari country remained quiet. The unpopular Governor, Abol Qassim, was dismissed at the end of January, the co-Governor, Manuchehr, being temporarily vested with sole authority. Though summoned to Tehran, Abol Qassim has remained in the Bakhtiari country, apparently owing to his fear of arrest and imprisonment; while he remains there he continues to be a source of discontent and potential trouble.

18. The competition from imported foreign cloth and second-hand clothing has hit the textile industry at Isfahan, where the mills are having difficulty in disposing of their output and owners are threatening to dismiss large numbers of workers. In consequence, some headway has been made in the publicity campaign, led by the Government and members of the Royal Family, for the use of home-produced cloth for all official purposes, uniforms for the forces and for Government servants.

19. At Resht, the capital of Gilan, the Democrat Party headquarters were burned down by a mysterious fire which broke out on 4th February. The fire was commonly thought to be the result of arson, and it is attributed to Tudeh elements acting in connivance with two brothers who had been appointed by Qavam as the heads of the Democrat Party in Gilan and were personally embittered by developments within the party since Qavam's fall from power. It was suggested that the Tudeh Party were interested in the destruction of certain records which had been locked up in the building since it was taken over by the Democrat Party from the Tudeh Party. The police were said to have decided to open this room and examine its contents on 7th February.

20. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; Air Headquarters (Iraq) through His Majesty's Embassy, Bagdad; British Middle East Office, Cairo; Political Intelligence Centre, Middle East, through B.M.E.O.; the United Kingdom High Commissioners at Karachi and New Delhi; and all His Majesty's consular officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

PERSIA: PROCEEDINGS OF MAJLIS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 23rd March)

(No. 86. Confidential) *Tehran,*
Sir, 15th March, 1948.

With the termination of the Persian year at the end of this week, the Majlis will have been in session for eight months. In accordance with established practice, the first two months were devoted to the scrutiny of Deputies' election mandates, but by the end of October the Chamber had, with only one dissentient voice, rejected the proposed Soviet Oil Agreement, on which all thoughts had been focussed since the beginning of the year. Having said "no" in this very positive way, it then settled down to its normal state of lethargy and to the obstruction of any constructive policy.

2. It is, of course, impossible to assess the value of the Majlis upon the basis of Western parliamentary practice. The Chamber meets on an average four times a week, and the meetings themselves seldom last much longer than two hours; nor is the best use made of this limited time to pass legislation. The former Prime Minister, Qavam-us-Saltaneh, realised that no Government would be able to get measures speedily adopted by the Chamber unless it was supported by a disciplined party and possessed a majority of about two-thirds of the Chamber. His creation of the Democrat Party went some way to achieve this result, but since the fall of Qavam and the split in the Democrat Party, the Majlis has reverted to its old state and is composed of several loose-knit factions around which gravitate a number of independent members. In this condition it is practically impossible for the Majlis to conduct any business except on matters on which there is almost complete unanimity of opinion. The rule that no debate may take place in the absence of a quorum consisting of two-thirds of the number of Deputies present in Tehran gives infinite scope for delaying and filibustering tactics, while the further requirement that a quorum of three-quarters is necessary for a vote to be taken enables a minority of one-quarter to obstruct any positive action. Debates on important measures are frequently brought to an end by Members withdrawing from the House and thus breaking the quorum. Again, this technique is frequently adopted when it is desired to prevent a division.

3. In consequence, practically the only major measures which have been enacted since October have been the vote on the North Persian oil question (see my despatch No. 430 of 29th October, 1947) on 22nd October, 1947, and the law authorising the purchase of military stores in the United States, passed on 17th February (reported in my despatch No. 70 of 3rd March, 1948). Minor measures have also been passed approving an increase in the salaries of Deputies (a proposal to which, for obvious reasons, there was little opposition) and of certain Government employees, and a law for the enforcement of a measure passed several years ago for the expansion of compulsory primary education.

4. A comprehensive budget for the new financial year, beginning on 22nd March, 1948, has not yet been presented to the House. For some weeks there was not even budgetary provision for current expenditure until the Government belatedly passed, on 22nd January, a provisional Budget Law authorising expenditure to continue at the 1947 rate up to the end of the current year, 21st March.

5. Unless proposed under a procedure of urgency, or double urgency, draft laws presented by Ministers are at once passed to a Standing Committee of the Chamber. There they often remain forgotten and are not heard of again for many months. Measures which have been dealt with in this way since October 1947 are the following:—

Press Law.

Law Regulating Foreigners Trading in Persia.

Law for the Reorganisation of the Ministry of Health.

Law for the Improved Control of Judicial Appointments.

6. This represents the total of the work done since the Majlis was opened in July. A large amount of its time was also spent on the process of the verification of Members' election mandates—a process which, in fact, made it incapable of passing any legislation much before the middle of October, and gave ample scope for every

sort of personal intrigue and bickering. The rest of its time has been devoted to irrelevant speeches ranging over every possible subject in the absence of any fixed programme of business. It is left to the discretion of the President to decide what question shall be before the Chamber at any given moment, a tradition which itself gives further scope for lobbying and intrigue. It is, therefore, frequently impossible to foretell when any urgent measure, which is theoretically before the Chamber, will be debated. The personal discipline of the Deputies is frequently

deplorable, and on various occasions in the last months altercations and personal bickerings in the course of debate have resulted in the Chamber breaking up in confusion while Deputies clinched matters under debate by an exchange of blows on the floor of the House.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.
J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

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No. 9

PERSO-AFGHAN DISPUTE OVER THE RIVER HELMAND

[WITH MAP]

1. Area of Seistan

Seistan is the area at the southern end of the Perso-Afghan frontier where the River Helmand debouches through its delta into the Hamun or lake. "With the exception of the tract at the mouth of the Khash Rud round Chakhansur in Afghan Seistan, Seistan is synonymous with the delta of the Helmand river and depends entirely upon that river for its cultivation and irrigation."⁽¹⁾ Sir F. Goldsmid, in giving his award in 1872, stated "as the Seistan of the present day is not the separate Principality of the past, and it is essential to a due appreciation of the claims that the parts in possession of either side should be intelligibly defined, I revert to a territorial division which has appeared to me convenient and appropriate. By this arrangement the rich tract of country which the Hamun on three of its sides and the Helmand on the fourth cause to resemble an island is designated 'Seistan proper': whereas the district of Chakhansur and the lands of the Helmand above the band and Seistan Desert are known as 'outer Seistan.'"

For the purpose of studying the water dispute it is unnecessary to try to define Seistan more exactly. Goldsmid's Seistan proper is the Persian Seistan relevant to the dispute, while his outer Seistan is Afghan Seistan, consisting of the provinces of Chakhansur and Kaleh-i-Fateh, the latter being that part of the populated area around the river above the band-i-Seistan at Kohuk, where the Perso-Afghan frontier leaves the Helmand and travels

south-westwards to Koh-i-Malik Siah. The only other point which might be of importance for definition is the distance up the Helmand to which Seistan extends; this is given in the McMahon Award as Bandar-i-Kamal Khan. The same source puts the eastern boundary of Chakhansur at Haleli on the Khash Rud.

2. Population of Seistan

There were said by the McMahon investigators to be in the areas defined above rather more than 200,000 inhabitants of which roughly two-thirds lived in Persian and one-third in Afghan Seistan. As for their race "the country, both Persian and Afghan Seistan, is so far homogeneous as to be on both sides the same confused medley of heterogeneous races and tribes of Iranian, Aryan, later Persian, Arab, Scythian, Parthian, Turkish, Baluch, Brahui and Afghan origins. The last named even in Afghan Seistan is represented by but a very small and unimportant scattered community."⁽¹⁾ Sir Henry Rawlinson states that "the true Seistanis are Persians of the purest Aryan type. In fact the only true representatives of the old Aryan race probably to be found in Persia are the Seistanis and the Jamshidis of Herat." "While nature, by cutting off Seistan from the rest of the world by wide and waterless deserts has done much to ensure the preservation intact of its old aboriginal races, yet the fertility and prosperity of this Seistan oasis, by tempting massive hordes of devastating

⁽¹⁾ Report of the Perso-Afghan Arbitration Commission, 1902-05 (McMahon Report).

invaders into the country, has led to this present conglomeration of different races, each left in their turn in Seistan by the receding tide of conquest."⁽¹⁾

3. The River Helmand

The river Helmand, on the waters of which the inhabitants of Seistan depend for their subsistence, rises in central Afghanistan and flows westwards through Afghanistan for the whole of its course of some 350 miles until it reaches the beginning of its present-day delta at Kohuk, where the band-i-Seistan is placed. At this point the Persian frontier reaches it from the south-west. At this point too the main tributary channel, the Rud-i-Seistan, branches off westwards and flows into the Hamun through Persian Seistan. This is the most important stream for the irrigation of Persian Seistan, and the band (barrier or dam made of tamarisk wood) has in the past been rebuilt each year at its junction with the main stream, in order to control the waters for irrigation. When Goldsmid fixed the international boundary north of this point in 1872 he defined it as running along the bed of the main stream to the limit of the Naizar (the reed-covered and annually flooded area above the permanent waters of the Hamun). At that time the main stream was the channel which is now called the Rud-i-Sikhsar, but after the floods of 1896 the river changed its course and the main stream began to flow along the Rud-i-Pariun, which is marked on modern maps as the main bed of the Helmand to the Hamun. In 1940 H.M. Vice-Consul at Zabul reported that all evidence suggested that after the next year of big floods the river would change its main stream again, probably to the Rud-i-Seistan, which was already deeper than the Rud-i-Pariun, though many Seistanis thought that it would break out eastwards into Afghan Seistan. There is no report of this actually having happened yet.

It appears that, owing to the accumulation of silt, the river tends to change its main bed in the delta at fairly regular intervals of roughly sixty years, flooding new areas and thereby ruining cultivable land, while drying up other previously irrigated areas and causing them to become desert. Thus the change of 1896 caused considerable damage to the province of Chakhansur, and the Sikhsar, instead of

being the main stream, is now the first to dry up in times of drought, as its bed is higher than that of the other tributaries. The McMahon Award states "I cannot close this award without a word of warning to both countries concerned. The past history of the Helmand river in Seistan shows that it has always been subject to sudden and important changes in its course which have from time to time diverted the whole river into a new channel and rendered useless all the then existing canal systems."

4. The Goldsmid Award

The object of the Goldsmid Mission of 1872 was to give an arbitral opinion about the claims of both Persia and Afghanistan to the possession of Seistan. From early times Seistan had been connected with Persia: "ancient association, together with the religion, language and perhaps the habits of the people of Seistan proper render the annexation of that tract to Persia by no means a strange or an unnatural measure."⁽²⁾ But Ahmed Shah, the creator of the short-lived Afghan Empire of the mid-eighteenth century, had occupied Seistan, and thereafter it had been considered part of Afghanistan, though since the beginning of the 19th century little control was exercised by the Afghan Government in the area. A few years previous to the Goldsmid Mission it had been occupied by Persian troops and a Persian Governor appointed, at a time when Afghanistan was too preoccupied with internal troubles to be able to resist. It was under these circumstances that Goldsmid examined the question at the request of Persia (who invoked the 1857 Treaty with Britain by which she engaged to refer disputes with Afghanistan to the British Government for adjustment and not to take up arms unless this method of settlement failed). Goldsmid in his Award compromised by dividing Seistan, placing the Perso-Afghan boundary in the delta area along the bed of the main stream (as it then was), the Rud-i-Sikhsar giving "Seistan proper" to Persia and "Outer Seistan" to Afghanistan. The boundary which he defined remains the international frontier to-day.

Appeals were made against this Award by both Persia and Afghanistan to H.M. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but ultimately each country accepted it. It is

now considered by both parties to the dispute to be the only valid document defining Perso-Afghan relations in Seistan.

By thus defining the boundary the Goldsmid Award gave rise to the water dispute, which could not have existed between Persia and Afghanistan as such before the partitioning of Seistan took place. The Goldsmid Award mentions the question of irrigation only shortly and almost as an afterthought in one sentence at the end: "it is moreover to be well understood that no works are to be carried out on either side calculated to interfere with the requisite supply of water for irrigation on both banks of the Helmand." A clarification of this statement was asked for by the Afghan envoy, and the opinion of the Indian Government, which was confirmed by Lord Granville (the Foreign Secretary), was that "the clause in the Award referred to could not be understood as applying either to existing canals or to such old and disused canals as the Afghan Government might wish to put into proper repair, nor could it interfere with the execution of new canals, provided the requisite supply of water for irrigation on the Persian side was not diminished." These statements have an important bearing on the issues of the present dispute.

5. The McMahon Award

The disputes over the question of water for irrigation which arose after the Goldsmid Award were for many years capable of local settlement. In 1896, after severe floods, the Helmand changed its main stream from the Sikhsar to the Pariun channel, and perhaps because of this, the differences between the two countries becoming more acrimonious, the British Government was asked to arbitrate in 1902 owing to the abnormal deficiency of water in that year, when the main stream dried up altogether.

McMahon states that "the condition under which the present arbitration has been agreed to by the Governments of Persia and Afghanistan is that the award should be in accordance with the terms of Sir Frederick Goldsmid's Award. In framing my award I am, therefore, restricted by the above condition." McMahon's first task was to define the boundary. He demarcated with pillars the whole of its course through Seistan from Koh-i-Malik Siah to the Siah Koh, and this part of his Award was accepted by

both the Persian and the Afghan Governments. In 1905 he delivered his irrigation Award; this met a different fate. The important passages of the Award are as follows:—

"Clause II: The amount of water requisite for irrigation of Persian lands irrigable from and below the Band-i-Kohuk is one-third of the whole volume of the Helmand river which enters Seistan."

Seistan, to which Sir Frederick Goldsmid's Award applies, comprises all lands on both banks of the Helmand from Bandar-i-Kamal Khan downwards.

"Clause III: Persia is therefore entitled to one-third of the whole Helmand river calculated at the point where water is first taken off from it to irrigate lands on either bank situated below Bandar-i-Kamal Khan.

"Clause IV: Any irrigation works constructed by Afghanistan to divert water into Seistan lands, as above defined, must allow of at least one-third of the volume of the whole river being available for Persian use at Band-i-Kohuk."⁽³⁾

The Afghan Government accepted the award except the clause which provided for a permanent British irrigation officer to arbitrate in local disputes. The Persian Government, however, rejected it entirely, stating that it did not follow the Goldsmid Award, but only the interpretation of it which the British Foreign Office put upon it. H.M. Government asked the Persian Government to state a reasoned appeal if they refused to accept it, as they themselves had asked for arbitration and were not justified in repudiating it because it suited them to do so. No such appeal was received, and the Award is assumed to have lapsed—at least no British irrigation officer was despatched to Seistan to arbitrate—and the Persian Government held and have since held the view that the only document by which they are bound is the Goldsmid Award.

6. Subsequent History

In spite of the fate of the McMahon Award, the Helmand question did not again become internationally prominent for over thirty years. It appears that disputes were capable of direct settlement by Persians and Afghans, and in the 1930s the Afghan Government offered voluntarily

⁽¹⁾ Report of the Perso-Afghan Arbitration Commission, 1902-05 (McMahon Report).

⁽²⁾ The Goldsmid Award.

⁽³⁾ The same, of course, as band-i-Seistan.

to increase the share allotted to Persia by McMahon from one-third to one-half of the waters of the river at Bandar-i-Kamal Khan, an offer which was eventually embodied in the Agreement of the 26th January, 1939, signed at Kabul by the Persian Ambassador and the Afghan Foreign Minister. The Agreement, however, was not ratified by Afghanistan and consequently lapsed.

The failure to ratify was due to a new element—the question of the use of the waters of the upper Helmand outside Seistan by Afghanistan. In 1937 a canal was begun under the supervision of German, and later Japanese, engineers, on the upper Helmand in the neighbourhood of Girishk; its object was to supply irrigation to a large tract of land in that neighbourhood. There is no evidence that the waters of the upper Helmand had been considered before this time in the disputes about Seistan, which had been confined to complaining of water drawn off the Helmand by one party or the other inside Seistan. The question of works constructed in Afghanistan far away from Seistan is almost a separate one from that of the division of the waters of the Helmand inside Seistan, but now it is this question of Afghanistan's right to use the waters of the upper Helmand as she thinks fit which forms the substance of the dispute.

This is well illustrated by the grounds on which the 1939 Agreement was rejected by Afghanistan. The Agreement itself was accepted, but in an annex to it the Afghan Government were asked to declare that they "have no object nor intention whatsoever to interfere with the supply of water to Seistan and therefore will not allow any action which may result in a reduction of the share of Persia from Bandar-i-Kamal Khan" (as specified in Section 1 of the Agreement) that would cause damage and loss to the agriculture and irrigation of Seistan. (Section 1 stated that "any quantity of water reaching Bandar-i-Kamal Khan every year may be distributed equally between Afghanistan and Persia after Bandar-i-Kamal Khan.")

By rejecting the annex Afghanistan made it clear that she was not going to accept any provision which might give the

(*) Bandar-i-Kamal Khan may be another form of Bandar-i-Kamal Khan; on the other hand, as Kamal Khan is the name of a local notable which has been given to several places, it may refer to another place. The map gives a place called "Kamal Khan" in the neighbourhood of Rudbar.

Persian Government grounds for interfering with works on the upper Helmand. Persia, in proposing the annex, refused to accept the Agreement without it, and showed that she was seriously alarmed about the effect which projects on the upper Helmand would have on the water supply of Seistan. Her alarm might be justified, but ignorance (due in part to the Afghan Government's refusal to allow the Persians even to see what they were doing) coupled with the 1946 and 1947 droughts gave rise to the wildest accusations against the Afghan Government by Persians.

7. Afghanistan's Obligations to the Upper Helmand

As the Goldsmid Award is the only authority which both the Persian and Afghan Governments acknowledge, it may be worth while to return to it to see exactly what its provisions were. The point which does not appear to have been elucidated is whether the Award is intended to refer to Seistan only or to any area of Persia or Afghanistan which may be relevant. It states that "no works are to be carried out on either side calculated to interfere with the requisite supply of water for irrigation on both banks of the Helmand." The Persian Government have quite clearly interpreted "on either side" to mean on either side of the frontier, *i.e.*, including in its provisions the whole length of the Helmand river. A U.S. Department of State memorandum of the 24th October, 1947, assumes without argument that this is what was intended, and states that "well aware that the Afghans would acquiesce very reluctantly to the boundary award, Goldsmid inserted the provision regarding water supply to prevent the Afghans from cutting off the flow of water to Seistan and thereby making the area a desert." It is possible that the Afghan Government too take this view of their obligations, for there is no evidence to show that they dispute it. On the other hand, Goldsmid was instructed to examine Seistan and to give an arbitral opinion about it. That his arbitration was confined to Seistan is stated explicitly in the McMahon Award—"Seistan, to which Sir Frederick Goldsmid's Award applies, comprises all lands on both banks of the Helmand from Bandar-i-Kamal Khan downwards." There is no evidence that the question of Afghan interference with the waters of the Helmand outside Seistan was

ever raised until after the Girishk Canal project was started in 1937.

8. Projects on the Upper Helmand

The canal projected in the neighbourhood of Girishk, sometimes known as the Boghra Canal, has in fact not yet been finished. The original scheme was for a canal some 70 to 80 miles long with a diversion dam and hydro-electric works at its head. By March 1947 only 16 miles had been dug. The war put a stop to its construction, but it has since been restarted by the American Morrison-Knudsen Engineering Company which is undertaking development work for the Afghan Government. The American adviser to the Afghan Government, Mr. Alexander, strongly disapproved of the continuation of the canal, both because the land which it would irrigate was not sufficiently fertile to justify its construction (in any case far less fertile than the Afghan Seistan Province of Chakhansur), and also because the minimum flow of water necessary for the hydro-electric project and for irrigation could not be guaranteed in dry years without the construction of a large storage dam further up the river to regulate the flow. The canal scheme has not, however, been abandoned, and an ideal site for an upstream dam was found about 60 miles from Girishk; the construction of this—at a cost of \$5-6 million—rather than of the canal was recommended by Mr. Alexander. Whether it will eventually be built, and when, are points which are not yet settled. But it is quite clear that the Afghan Government are bent on some sort of development in the upper reaches of the Helmand.

The Afghan Government have maintained that, although they reserve the right to construct what works they think fit on the upper Helmand, yet their interest in the welfare of Seistan is as great as that of Persia—indeed greater, because Afghan Seistan is larger, though less developed, than Persian Seistan and is capable of more development (the McMahon Report gives the ratio of cultivated land in Persian Seistan compared with Afghan Seistan as 4 to 1, but states that with suitable irrigation works the area under cultivation in Afghan Seistan could actually exceed that of Persian Seistan); moreover, in years of drought, such as 1946 and 1947, the Sikhsar channel, which provides water for Chakhansur, is the first to dry up and the Afghan Seistanis the first to suffer. The Afghan Minister for Foreign Affairs has also stated that if the Boghra Canal

took all the water of the Helmand from the river and returned none, it would make no difference to the supply of water at Bandar-i-Kamal Khan, as the chief constituents of the river flowed into the main stream from the Arghandab Rud at a point lower down than Girishk. The Afghan Government offered to guarantee a supply of water requisite for the needs of Seistan, in accordance with the terms of the Goldsmid Award (the explanation of the Award given by the British Foreign Secretary clearly gave Afghanistan the right to construct new canals provided that their construction did not interfere with the supply of water requisite for Persian Seistan). They therefore suggested a Perso-Afghan Commission to visit Persian Seistan to decide what the requisite water supply should be. This, needless to say, the Persian Government refused to allow, since not only would it constitute an interference in Persia's internal affairs (of the same type as inspection of works on the upper Helmand would be Persian interference in Afghan internal affairs), but also because the amount of land under cultivation at any time is no indication (particularly in a time of drought) of the land which can be cultivated, nor of possible development. The Afghan Government also pointed out—what has been pointed out many times before—that Seistan normally suffered from excess, not deficiency of water, and that floods did far more damage to land and crops than drought; and that the construction of headworks would help to regulate the supply of water, and hence improve the condition of Persian Seistan (if the argument that a canal at Girishk would make no difference to the flow of water into Seistan is accepted, it is difficult to see how headworks at a considerable distance upstream from Girishk could regulate the flow in Seistan).

9. The Present Position

It became clear in the autumn of 1947 that, while both parties to the dispute are anxious for a settlement, no further progress can be reached by direct negotiation, as neither side is willing to allow the other even inspection, let alone partial control, of its portion of the Helmand. The drought, which added heat to the Persian presentation of the case, was alone responsible for the deficiency of water in Persian Seistan in the autumn of 1947, as both Morrison-Knudsen personnel and later the American Secretary at the Kabul Legation, who inspected the whole length of the river to

Kohuk, confirmed; they reported that all the canals on the Afghan side were dried up. At present the Afghan development schemes are quite clearly not responsible for the shortage of water flowing into Seistan, though that is no indication that they may not harm the water supply in future, although the point made by the Afghan Government, that irrigation of Seistan is as important to Afghanistan as to Persia, must render the event less likely.

The United States Government have been more closely concerned with recent developments in the dispute than the British. This is largely because an American company, the Morrison-Knudsen Engineering Company is responsible for the organisation of development works on the upper Helmand, and also, as part of its survey of Persia, has reported on possible irrigational developments in Persian Seistan. The reputation of the United States in this part of the world is bound to be affected by the success or failure of the company in carrying out its undertakings, and it is considered important by the Department of State on these as well as other political grounds that a permanent agreement should be reached as soon as possible. The United States Ambassador in Teheran made available to the Persian Government information about the International Joint Commissions which attend to the problems of boundary waters between the United States and Canada and the United States and Mexico. But in spite of this help and other encouragement, both in Teheran and Kabul, it was not found possible to persuade the Persian and

Afghan Governments to come to a direct settlement. The matter was eventually referred to the representatives of the two countries in Washington, where it has been hoped that agreement will be reached. The State Department proposed to the Persian Embassy and Afghan Legation that a neutral technical commission should be established to examine the problem and to arbitrate. The suggestion has been referred to Tehran and Kabul, but answers to it have not yet been given.

The dilatory process of negotiation in America is perhaps in part due to the fact that water is now flowing into Seistan again, so that the immediate cause of the altercation is eliminated. The Persian Government, however, have still not withdrawn their threat made some months ago to refer the matter to U.N.O. if no satisfactory solution can be reached. There is no doubt that if a solution can be found along the lines proposed by the State Department it will be more satisfactory than referring the matter to U.N.O. It seems a little absurd that, while construction on the Afghan section of the Helmand is already begun, and in the Persian section has been recommended and may be supervised, by the Morrison-Knudsen Company, the Afghan and Persian Governments, for whom the company works, have reached a complete impasse in their dispute over the river, which, though politically divided, is still a single geographical unit.

*Research Department,
31st March, 1948.*

E 4548/2232/34

No. 10

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

Monthly Report for March 1948

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 13th April)

(No. 112. Confidential)

Sir, *Tehran, 5th April, 1948*

With reference to my despatch No. 70 (Monthly Report for February), I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during March 1948. Relations between Persia and the Soviet Union continued strained, and the controversy over the rôle of the United States Military Mission was carried further both by Soviet propaganda and by yet another

note from the Soviet Ambassador. The position of the Government was strengthened by the inclusion in the Cabinet of four new Ministers, and it has been making some progress over the proposed seven-year plan of economic development.

Foreign Affairs

2. There were no new developments in Soviet-Persian relations before the Persian New Year on 21st March, though Moscow

propaganda continued to attack the Persian Government for its alleged anti-Soviet policy. On 24th March the Soviet Ambassador, who three days earlier had openly shown his disrespect for the Shah by the absence both of himself and of his first counsellor from the annual levée, presented a note in reply to the Persian note of 4th February; this note quoted the United States-Persian Agreement of October 1947 in refutation of the Persian statement that United States advisers had not occupied key posts or intervened in the activities of the Ministry of War, and as proof that no such post could in any circumstances be filled by foreign advisers other than American. The note went on to claim that the Soviet Union had the right, under its own Constitution, to give asylum to foreign refugees and rejected the Persian protests on this score. It also compared the present Persian denials of American activities with similar denials in 1941 about Axis agents in Persia, and repeated that the United States-Persian Agreement of 1947 was in conflict with the provisions of the Soviet-Persian Treaty of 1921, describing the Persian note of 4th February as an attempt to evade responsibility for the Persian Government's policy, which was incompatible with that treaty. With the delivery of this latest note, the position is now that the Soviet Government have called upon the Persian Government to terminate the activities of the United States Military Mission which they allege to constitute a threat to the Soviet Union, and, having rejected the Persian arguments in reply, probably consider themselves entitled under the treaty to take military action if the Persian Government do not comply with their request.

3. The publication of the Soviet note was followed by the publication by the Persian Government of an earlier note, dated 22nd March, protesting against Soviet propaganda against Persia, and in particular against statements that the Hakimi Government was pursuing an anti-Soviet policy, that America would be given oil in Northern Persia and that the Persian Government was surrendering Persian independence to the United States and making Persia into a base of operations for aggression against the U.S.S.R. The Persian note denied all these charges and repeated that the policy of the Persian Government was based on the United Nations Charter and the maintenance of friendly relations with all countries,

particularly the U.S.S.R., on a basis of reciprocity.

4. This further exacerbation of the controversy about American activities in Persia has caused some alarm among public opinion in the capital, who already earlier in the month were quick to draw disquieting implications from events in Czechoslovakia and from the signs of increasing tension between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union as shown by President Truman's message calling for conscription, and by the conclusion of the Brussels Treaty. The Persians were quicker than usual to appreciate, after the events in Prague and Finland, that it might be Persia's turn next, and the newspapers, in particular, are urging more strongly than ever that Persia should maintain a balanced policy and avoid entanglements with either camp.

5. Disproportionate interest was aroused by the arrival in Tehran for a short visit of Mr. Jernegan, of the State Department, shortly after the departure of the former United States Ambassador. The new United States Ambassador, Mr. John Wiley, arrived in Tehran on 31st March. The newly-appointed Argentine Minister, Don Eduardo Colombres Marmol, presented his letters of credence to the Shah on 21st March, and the Netherlands Minister, M. Montijn, on 14th March, on his promotion from chargé d'affaires.

Internal Situation

6. After several weeks of rumour and uncertainty, M. Hakimi strengthened his Government on 9th March by the appointment of M. Nuri Esfandiari as Minister for Foreign Affairs, General Ahmadi as Minister of the Interior, and M. Soheili and M. Hajir as Ministers without Portfolio. These appointments, while increasing the Government's support in the Majlis, failed to remove entirely the dissatisfaction over the Government's inactivity, and it is expected that there will be another trial of strength when M. Hakimi is called upon, when the Majlis reassembles after the No-Ruz recess, to answer a further series of interpellations from members of the Democrat Iran Party. The new Ministers, however, have the reputation of energy and strength of character. The appointment of M. Nuri Esfandiari, in particular, who was the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Qavam's last Government, is likely to strengthen the Government considerably in its handling of foreign affairs. M. Hajir

has been entrusted with the supervision of the Ministry of Labour, the position of which has not yet been regularised by legislation.

7. For the last ten days of the month all official business was at a standstill owing to the No-Ruz holidays. In the week preceding No-Ruz, however, the Government at last showed signs of taking positive action on the Naficy Report on the economic development of the country (see my despatch No. 37 of 10th February, paragraph 3). The Cabinet considered a draft Bill which it intends to put before the Majlis as soon as the Chamber reassembles, constituting a planning authority and outlining the principal activities to which expenditure under the plan should be devoted; the text of the Bill was referred to a special Cabinet Committee, and it may therefore be revised before it is actually submitted to the Majlis. These deliberations coincided with the presence in Tehran of Mr. Max Thornburg, an American expert on Middle East development, who made various recommendations in private conversations with leading Persians, urging strongly that the seven-year plan should be placed under the control of a consultant who, in his view, should be an American firm or individual, and who should be assured a free hand, by means of special legislation, exempting them from ordinary administrative restrictions to enable them to carry out the plan.

8. The Majlis also gave further consideration during the month to the Foreign Traders' Bill, and to a Bill exempting agricultural machinery from customs duty. No decision was taken on either of these Bills owing to the recess, but it is expected that the Foreign Traders' Bill may go before the Chamber again as soon as it reassembles, and it will become law, though possibly in a revised form, authorising foreign merchants to continue to import their goods from their own country of origin.

9. Much publicity was given to the Shah's visit during the No-Ruz holidays to provincial towns in Eastern Persia and to Tabriz. His Majesty paid an official visit to the shrine of the Imam Reza at Meshed, and is reported to have received a warm reception from the population of Azerbaijan. In a message issued to the nation for the new year he made a strong appeal for initiative and action in raising the standard of living of the workers and for an improvement in the economic situation.

He attacked influential classes who were too selfish to concern themselves with the welfare of the poor, and called for urgent measures to improve economic conditions and to create employment. He also made a similar appeal in a communiqué issued in Tehran on his return from Meshed. The Shah is known to be impatient at the delay in taking measures for social reform and economic development, and to be contemplating some measure of constitutional reform if the Majlis blocks or rejects proposals to this end.

10. Reports continued to be received of renewed Tudeh activities throughout the country; in spite of repressive measures last year the party is believed to have the support of over one-third of the industrial population. Internal discipline in the party is being tightened up, probably under Russian orders. Tudeh leaders have returned to Khorasan and are said to be reorganising the party in that province, where there is reported to be an increase in Soviet activities generally. Tudeh activities are said to be increasing in Gilan, particularly in the towns, and there are reports that the Tudeh wish in the near future to organise strikes in Isfahan and Abadan. Agents have been reported as travelling between Tehran and Khuzistan, and Tudeh is said to be particularly strong among the railway workers. At Abadan they have issued a leaflet attacking the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Dr. Bakhtiari, the representative of the Persian Ministry of Labour, and the Central Union of Workers of Khuzistan, which has been holding regular meetings in Abadan, alleged by Tudeh to be supported by the company in order to sabotage their own activities. The Soviet consul at Ahwaz has again visited Abadan and also Khorramshahr and Shadegan, an Arab tribal centre.

11. The fears of bread shortage mentioned in previous reports have been set at rest by recent abundant rain and snowfalls. Harvest prospects appear favourable throughout the country, and if there is further rain in April the 1948 harvest is expected to be excellent. Wheat prices have fallen considerably.

Conditions in the Provinces

12. The situation in Azerbaijan is reported to be calm. The military authorities have been making further enquiries about the retention of illegal arms, and there has been a small number of further

arrests of Soviet sympathisers. The despatch to the south of Muhajjirs and Armenians has been temporarily suspended, and the camp near Khorramabad is now empty; but further arrests and the despatch of further contingents to the south are expected later in the spring. A certain amount of activity by the Muhajjirs has been reported, chiefly taking the form of a whispering campaign complaining that money needed for the relief of poverty in the province is being squandered on new public buildings. Some progress has been made with public works, particularly in railway construction and the paving of the streets of Tabriz; Government publicity at Tabriz has been reorganised in order to counter the "Azerbaijan Democrat" wireless, and proposals have been made for the improvement of working conditions and educational facilities. The situation in Azerbaijan was mentioned in the Majlis by two Deputies who appealed for efforts to revive trade and to stimulate output. These speeches were seized upon by the Tudeh newspaper *Mardom* to complain of the unsatisfactory employment situation.

13. Trouble is said to have broken out between Government forces and the Boir Ahmadi tribe, the wildest element in the Kugalu country in South Persia whom the authorities have hitherto failed to disarm. At the beginning of the month two senior Persian officers from Ahwaz visited Behbahan, the centre of the Kugalu country, to discuss disarmament with assembled tribal chiefs. Consultations, probably about future operations against the Boir Ahmadi, also took place between the military authorities at Shiraz and Isfahan,

whose commands cover the northern and eastern parts of this tribal territory. The garrison of Behbahan was reinforced and aircraft were sent to fly over the tribal area as a precaution early in March. On 1st April the General Staff issued a denial of the report that there had been serious fighting in the Boir Ahmadi country, and stated that conditions were normal.

14. Conditions elsewhere in the southern tribal territories are reported to be quiet. In the Bakhtiari country the authorities have avoided bringing matters to a head, though there have been several outbreaks of banditry and two subordinate Khans with their armed followers are said to have assumed control of the region of Sardasht. The situation in the Qashgai country is reported to be quiet; grazing conditions are good and the tribesmen prosperous. Disarmament has continued in the area, and the General Officer Commanding Shiraz states that some 14,000 firearms have been accounted for. There have, nevertheless, been several cases of banditry. The military authorities have also made some progress in disarming the tribes in Tangistan, south-east of Bushire.

15. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow, Bagdad, and to the British Middle East Office, Air Headquarters (Iraq) through His Majesty's Embassy, Bagdad, Political Intelligence Centre (Middle East) through B.M.E.O., the United Kingdom High Commissioners at Karachi and New Delhi, and to all His Majesty's consular officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

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No. 11

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

MONTHLY REPORT FOR APRIL 1948

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 13th May)

(No. 151. Confidential)

Sir, *Tehran, 4th May, 1948*

With reference to Sir J. H. Le Rougetel's despatch No. 112 of 5th April, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during April 1948. There were some signs of a *détente* in relations between Persia and the Soviet Union towards the end of the month, and the acrimonious exchange of notes between

the two Governments appears, at least temporarily, to have ceased. The Persian Government showed energy in dealing with threats to public security and strengthened its position in the Majlis; the Cabinet approved the draft Bill for the seven-year plan of economic development. There was considerable Opposition activity towards the end of April.

Foreign Affairs

2. The correspondence between the Soviet Ambassador and the Persian Government was early in the month carried further by two notes: the Persian reply, dated 1st April, to the Soviet note of 24th March about the American Military Mission and the 1921 Treaty; and the Soviet reply, dated 6th April, to the Persian note complaining about Soviet propaganda and, in particular, the lecture by Professor Steinberg. In the former the Persian Government rebutted the Soviet arguments about the American Military Mission and, in particular, challenged the Soviet Government's allusion to events in 1941, stating that in that year the Persian Government had continued its policy of neutrality towards the Soviet Union, and that the invocation of the 1921 Treaty had been a pretext rather than a justification for subsequent Soviet military action. The note went on to repeat charges of Soviet intervention in the internal affairs of Persia by interfering in political matters in Azerbaijan in 1946 and, subsequently, by giving asylum to refugees who were considered by the Persian Government to be common law criminals. In his note of 6th April the Soviet Ambassador stated that the Persian Government was not justified in making the remarks of Soviet commentators about Persia's unfriendly policy towards the Soviet Union the subject of diplomatic representations, and complained about anti-Soviet articles and caricatures in the Tehran press. These notes and the previous correspondence were communicated by the Persian Government to the Security Council for its information.

3. In spite of the continuation of this correspondence, it seems likely that the Soviet Ambassador, who left Tehran to pay visits to Meshed and Gorgan, the purpose of which may have been to obtain information regarding Persian action against Soviet agents in Khorassan and to step-up Soviet activities in that area, received instructions from Moscow to relax his pressure on the Persian Government—no doubt in view of developments in Europe. On his return, he, on 18th April, visited the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, whom he had not seen for a considerable time, and a communiqué reporting these interviews was issued by the Persian Government. The Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs both confirmed to His Majesty's

Ambassador that the meeting had been entirely friendly and that no reference whatever had been made to the recent correspondence.

4. The Italian elections were followed by public opinion with great interest, and their reassuring outcome, coinciding with signs of reduced tension in Soviet-Persian relations, went some way to counter public nervousness, which had resulted in March from events in Czechoslovakia and from the increased friction between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union over German and Western European affairs. Public opinion remained detached though pessimistic about developments in Palestine, being preoccupied as usual with their possible bearing on the attitude of the U.S.S.R.

5. The Bahrein question was again raised in the Majlis by the tabling, on 15th April, of a private members' Bill calling upon the Government to take speedy action to establish its authority over Bahrein and to report to the Majlis as a matter of urgency. Though some respectable Deputies signed the Bill, it was primarily the work of the notoriously anti-British Abbas Iskandari, who in the debate on the interpellation of the Government attacked them for not having lived up to Qavam-us-Saltaneh's pledge that he would raise the Bahrein question with His Majesty's Government, and urged that, in view of the general international situation, the moment was propitious for the Persian Government to pursue this matter. In his reply the Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that there was no trace in the diplomatic archives of any action having been taken in this matter by Qavam-us-Saltaneh, and that the Persian Government maintained its claim and would not lose any opportunity of asserting its rights in the future. In the circumstances, no Minister could well have said less, and M. Nuri Isfandiari gave His Majesty's Ambassador to understand, before the latter's departure on leave on 29th April, that he fully understood His Majesty's Government's attitude in the matter and would do everything he could to prevent further ventilation of this question in the near future.

6. Some progress was made towards the settlement of the long outstanding question of the Persian claims for compensation for use of the Trans-Iranian Railway during the war and conversations were continued between the commercial counsellor of His Majesty's Embassy and the railway

administration. The only major point at issue is that of liability for a possible claim by the United States Government for payment for railway stores handed over to the Persian State Railways during the war. This liability His Majesty's Government have declined to accept.

7. The United States Ambassador, Mr. J. C. Wiley, presented his letters of credence on 6th April. The obstacle to the delivery of United States armaments represented by the failure to reach agreement over the payment of packing and transport charges (see Tehran despatch No. 70, paragraph 4) has now apparently been overcome. It is expected that the first consignment of arms, from United States stocks to Western Europe, will arrive in about three months' time.

8. The three International Labour Office experts visiting Persia toured the Southern Provinces and have been busy revising labour legislation. M. Fuss, who had previously and in private expressed his great admiration for the activities of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, made an ill-prepared speech in public which was interpreted by his Persian audience as severe criticism of the company's housing. Dr. Julian Huxley, and a small party representing U.N.E.S.C.O., also visited Tehran at the end of April, in preparation for the next U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference to be held at Beirut.

Internal Situation

9. During the early part of the month the time of the Majlis was largely taken up by routine formalities connected with the beginning of the new session after the Persian New Year. On 4th April, after an even division of votes between the former Speaker, Sardar Fakher Hikmat, and an Opposition candidate, the former was re-elected by a simple majority on a third count. Subsequent sessions were taken up by the election of other officers of the Chamber. The Minister of Finance submitted the new budget on 15th April, but much time was lost by the debate on the interpellations against the Government, which had been tabled before the recess. In consequence of this delay the budget had not been passed by the end of the month and the Government was again compelled to resort to the expedient of voting one month's expenditure pending later approval of the main budget. The interpellation debate resulted in the passing of a vote of confidence by 67 votes

to 2, with 19 abstentions, on 26th April. This Government success leaves the way clear for further progress with the budget and for the submission to the Majlis by the Prime Minister of the Bill embodying the Seven-Year Plan, which was approved by the Cabinet with certain modifications on 29th April.

10. General Amir Ahmadi, who succeeded General Aghevli as Minister of the Interior in March, has shown considerable activity in dealing with threats to public security. He ordered the immediate arrest of persons in the provinces who had been responsible for acts of brigandage, and large-scale arrests were made in collaboration with the military authorities of elements in Tehran and the Northern Provinces, who were believed to be preparing dissension and disturbances. Martial law was declared in seven Caspian towns, and sixty workers were transferred from the Chalus silk factory to Tehran. The military authorities have also intervened with the railway administration and the Industrial Bank, which controls State factories, to obtain the dismissal of Tudeh employees. Tudeh influence had been previously reported as being particularly strong among railway employees.

11. A communiqué was issued by police headquarters on 5th April announcing that article 49 of the Press Law, which gives the police authority to confiscate newspapers publishing offensive material or inciting to disorder, would henceforth be strictly enforced. All these measures have given rise to considerable clamour in Opposition quarters, and the newspapers produced articles complaining of this threat to their liberty of expression and of alleged preparation for the restoration of a dictatorship. Public meetings of newspaper representatives were held in Tehran on 18th and 25th April, and were attended both by journalists and by representatives of the Tudeh and other Opposition Parties.

12. Tudeh activities have been driven underground by fear of repressive measures, and clandestine methods are now used for establishing contacts between members of the Tudeh organisation and convening secret meetings. The party has, however, also taken part in press campaigns and issued manifestos directed against the Government, the military authorities and the Ministry of Labour; and fear of reprisal did not prevent them planning two public meetings in Tehran to celebrate May Day. At Isfahan a

judicious intervention by the Governor-General on the side of the workers helped to avert a strike in the textile factories, where the Tudeh had been exploiting some not unjustified discontent; this was followed by the arrest of seventeen Tudeh Party members and their condemnation to three months' imprisonment. Fourteen members of M. Kaivan's independent union were also arrested but released almost at once. These arrests, planned and carried out by the military authorities, were most unwelcome to the Ministry of Labour, who so informed the Governor-General; he promised to do his best to prevent such repressive means in the future. There have been more reports of visits by Tudeh agitators and suspected Soviet agents to Abadan and the oil-fields.

13. A Bill implementing the Seven-Year Plan has been discussed by the Council of Ministers. The Bill gave very wide powers to the Planning Organisation, and it was scarcely surprising that several Ministers took exception to what they regarded as a derogation from their authority. A compromise has now been reached by which, whilst the Supervising Organisation retains the general responsibility for the plan, its actual execution will be left to the various Ministries concerned. The Bill is now due to be presented to the Majlis.

The Provinces

14. There have been further heavy rains which should improve the chances of a good harvest; but meanwhile the supply of cereals for the next few months continues to cause anxiety in Khorassan, where grain is still being hoarded; and in Khuzistan, where the first crop is poor and supplies imported from other provinces are not as large as had been hoped. In the Caspian provinces there have been complaints of the continued high price of rice.

15. In the course of his visit to Azerbaijan at the end of March, the Shah was met with complaints about the administration of the province, and there have been rumours of the impending replacement of the Governor-General. The warmth of his reception at Tabriz left no doubt of his continued popularity and of the loyalty of the great majority of Azerbaijanis. He enjoined particular attention to the

improvement of living conditions for the peasants, the creation of employment and the organisation of publicity. In the second half of April the Shah made a tour of the Caspian provinces and again had a most cordial reception.

16. In spite of the reports of trouble during March, disarmament of the Boir Ahmedi tribe has proceeded satisfactorily. Further small detachments of troops have been reinforcing those already established in the area, and the Persian military authorities have informed His Majesty's Consul-General at Ahwaz and His Majesty's Consul at Shiraz that the Boir Ahmedi are responding to disarmament more favourably than had been expected; that several hundred rifles have been handed in, and that no clashes have occurred. It would appear, therefore, that the reports of serious fighting which were current in March were spread with the deliberate intention of causing trouble, but that, in fact, the military have succeeded in extending effective control in the area concerned and that the tribal leaders have acknowledged Government authority.

17. In the Bakhtiari country a small military operation to obtain the arrest of Abul Qassem succeeded in rounding up this troublesome chieftain at Ardal on 8th April after a couple of skirmishes between his followers and Government forces. He was tried by court martial at Isfahan and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. This sentence has now been remitted by the Shah, but Abul Qassem will not be able to return to the Bakhtiari country for the next two years. It is expected, however, that this leniency will have a bad effect among the Bakhtiari, who have already expressed dissatisfaction at the prospect of his not being punished in accordance with his deserts.

18. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad, and to the British Middle East Office; Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy, Bagdad; Political Intelligence Centre, Middle East, through B.M.E.O.; United Kingdom High Commissioners at Karachi and New Delhi; and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

M. J. CRESWELL.

E 8006/2232/34

No. 12

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

Monthly Report for May 1948

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 15th June)

(No. 209. Confidential) *Tehran,*
Sir, *9th June, 1948.*

With reference to my despatch, No. 151 of 4th May, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during May 1948. Relations between the Soviet Union and Persia continued to show some slight improvement in spite of a frontier incident on the Araxes River. The Persian Government gradually lost its majority in the Majlis and its position at the end of the month was extremely insecure. Qavam-es-Sultaneh returned to Persia from abroad, but has not yet re-entered the political arena.

Foreign Affairs

2. After his change of tactics during April, when he emerged from a mood of sulkiness which had lasted since the rejection of the draft agreement for a Soviet-Persian Oil Company in October 1947, the Soviet Ambassador continued to give an appearance of cordiality to his relations with the Persian Government. In his pursuit of sweet reasonableness he even went to the length of attending the *salon* of one of the Princesses to hear a recital by a Greek pianist, sponsored by that monarcho-Fascist beast, the Greek Chargé d'Affaires. The visit of a Persian delegation to Tashkent to take part in the celebrations of the 500th anniversary of the poet Ali Shir Navai also seems to reflect a more conciliatory attitude towards Persia than the Russians have shown for some time.

3. M. Sadchikov again visited the Minister for Foreign Affairs at the beginning of the month and is said to have complained of lack of response on the Persian side to the hand of friendship extended to them by the Soviet Government. The Persian Government, however, were forthcoming enough to act on a suggestion that conversations should be held between the Minister of National Economy and the head of the Soviet Trade Delegation with a view to negotiating a new commercial agreement, and on 25th May it was announced in the newspapers that the Minister had submitted to the Cabinet the heads of a proposed agreement regulating Soviet-Persian trade over the period of

twelve months starting at the end of March 1948. The proposed agreement is based on the quotas fixed for the preceding year, and the Soviet Government have asked that approximately one-quarter of the total Persian import quota should be earmarked for Soviet products, including sugar, cotton piece-goods, cotton yarn, agricultural machinery, iron and steel manufactures, newsprint, mineral oils, chemicals, furs, plywood, electrical apparatus and silver, platinum and precious stones. Against this, the Soviet Government ask for rice, wheat, barley, lentils and peas, vegetable oils, livestock, horses and camels. In asking for authority to negotiate an agreement on this basis, the Minister of National Economy has stated that he intends to modify the list of Soviet exports according to the needs of the market, and the list of Persian exports according to the yield of the harvest. The efforts of the Persian Government to discuss the question of Persian gold blocked in Moscow and of customs duties has so far met with no response on the Russian side.

4. An incident occurred on the Araxes River at a point between Julfa and the Caspian coast in the second week in May, when a force estimated to number about forty men in Caucasian dress and armed with automatic weapons crossed the frontier and were engaged by a Persian patrol. After an exchange of fire, causing casualties on both sides, the irregulars withdrew across the river by the light of flares from the Soviet frontier guard. The purpose of this frontier violation is not clear, though the men concerned may have formed part of a group of irregulars on their way through Azerbaijan from Soviet territory to Northern Iraq. The Persian Government is believed to have protested about this incident in a diplomatic note to the Soviet Ambassador.

5. There have been expressions of sympathy with the Arab cause in Palestine, but no serious suggestions of any action beyond contribution to relief funds. A mass meeting organised by the religious leader, Ayatullah Kashani, was held in the Tehran Mosque on 22nd May and another, later in the month, under the auspices of a group called "Moslem Union," attended

by the diplomatic representatives of the principal Arab States and by the Pakistan Chargé d'Affaires. Criticism has been directed principally against the United States and Soviet Governments for promoting and officially recognising the Jewish State, and only to a lesser degree against His Majesty's Government. On the whole, a distinction has been drawn between the Zionists and the local Jews of Persia, to whom no harm is apparently intended. In reply to questions in the Majlis, the Minister for Foreign Affairs explained, on 27th May, that the Persian delegation to the United Nations had consistently opposed partition and that the Government's attitude in this matter would remain unchanged.

6. Although Afghanistan as well as Persia accepted a United States proposal for a neutral commission to investigate and make recommendations for the settlement of the Helmand water dispute, relations between the two countries remain unsatisfactory and attacks on the Afghan Government, against which the Afghan Ambassador has protested to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, have been made in the Persian press.

7. Diplomatic relations have now been resumed between Saudi Arabia and Persia and the first Saudi Arabian Minister to be accredited at Tehran, M. Sayed Hamza Ghouth-al-Madani, presented his credentials to the Shah on 26th May. The Government of Pakistan has appointed as ambassador to Persia Ghazanfar Ali Khan, though he has not yet proceeded to his post. A delegation of Iranian journalists who had visited Pakistan returned to Tehran at the beginning of May: their visit was very successful and they were most impressed by all they saw.

8. The Majlis approved, on 22nd May, a Bill authorising Persia's adherence to the International Health Organisation; a similar Bill, for Persia's adherence to U.N.E.S.C.O., was approved on 30th May by the Foreign Affairs Commission and will now be submitted to the Chamber.

Internal Situation

9. The position of the Government has steadily weakened throughout the month. M. Hakimi, and particularly his Finance Minister, M. Nadjm, have for some time been the object of criticism, chiefly because in their efforts to end corruption in public life they have inevitably come up against vested interests. In previous months opposition had largely centred upon the Majlis

parties of liberal tradition who, as reported in my despatch under reference, organised various meetings of protest against the Government's action which they represented as being dictatorial and a threat to the liberties of the people. These meetings have continued during the present month. These activities were largely led by Sayed Zia-ud-Din who is thought to have made some working arrangement with the Tudeh Party for the purpose. During May, however, partly owing to this and partly owing to the return from abroad of Qavam-us-Saltaneh on 3rd May, the picture changed and opposition to the Government became manifest on a much wider basis in the Majlis. A coalition was formed between the three Opposition parties towards the end of the month, and finally a number of Deputies who had formerly supported the Prime Minister stated that they would no longer do so. At the end of the month, therefore, it seemed unlikely that the Government would survive for more than a few weeks.

10. Considerable public attention was directed to the affairs of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company owing to two debates in the Majlis on the subject of the negotiations carried out by Qavam's last Government in November 1947, which were concerned very largely with the article in the concession regarding the progressive replacement of European and other foreign employees by Iranian nationals. In answer to an interpellation, the Finance Minister said that he had no trace of any negotiations opened by the former Government. This, and an open letter addressed to Deputies by the Left-wing agitator, Abbas Eskandari, called forth a statement from M. Hajir, who was himself Minister of Finance last November, in justification of his own activities and the Majlis then became the centre of a public dispute between these two members of the Government. The matter was soon disposed of by a mutual apology, but the incident served to draw renewed attention to the terms of the A.I.O.C. Concession and also contributed to the unpopularity of the Finance Minister and to the weakness of the Government.

11. In consequence of the dwindling support for the Government, the Majlis was prevented in the latter half of the month from doing any useful work. The budget has still not been passed and the financing of public expenditure is continuing on a basis of provisional monthly votes each of one-twelfth of the previous year's budget. The Bill for the Seven-Year Plan of Eco-

nomic Development was submitted to the Majlis on 3rd May and was referred to an *ad hoc* commission of the House for detailed study. The commission has been working intensively at this task and it is believed that it will be ready to submit the Bill, with certain modifications, to the Chamber by the middle of July. The commission is thought to be in favour of strengthening the clause in the Bill which will give the supervising authority power to direct the execution of the plan without having to refer at every stage to the Government of the day.

12. A Bill for the creation of a Senate was submitted to the Majlis on 9th May, and referred to a commission. The Bill, which provides for a Senate of 60 members, 30 to be elected and 30 nominated by the Shah, was attacked in the press as another step towards dictatorship and an increase in the power of the ruling class.

The Provinces

13. Demonstrations planned for 1st May took place in most parts of the country without any breach of public order. In Tehran and the larger provincial capitals meetings were organised by Government-sponsored organisations such as the E.S.K.I. Trade Unions. Tudeh meetings which were also held were on a relatively small scale and were not in any way provocative. The Government ban on processions was successfully enforced. At Resht, a meeting organised by members of Qavam's former Democrat Party was attended by the rank and file of the Tudeh Party, most of whom have now found it worth their while to become members of the E.S.K.I. Union—an unholy alliance which should be attributed to individual opportunism rather than to any significant political development. At Khorramshahr a meeting of 3,000 workers was held under the auspices of the recently formed Central Union of Oil Workers. The Tudeh Party held no meeting or demonstration, their May Day celebrations being confined to the distribution of pamphlets. They do not yet seem anxious for their leaders to be brought into the limelight.

14. Disarmament of the tribes continues in Fars and in the Kugalu country. The G.O.C., Fars, estimates that one-third of their arms have now been collected from the Boir Ahmadi in his province. In spite of this, there has been a further deterioration in general security in the Shiraz area. The most serious incident for some time

38311

took place on 5th May, when thirty-five armed robbers were prevented by the gendarmerie from looting a truckload of sugar near Sarvestan, between Shiraz and Fasa. Six gendarmes and two civilians were killed. The Persian Government are also said to be apprehensive of tendencies to secede to Pakistan on the part of Baluchi tribes in the area south of Zahidan. Measures are being taken to limit movement across the frontier, and preparations are being made to enforce some degree of disarmament and to bring these tribes under control.

15. In South Persia the shortage of grain continues to be serious, but efforts are being made to cope with the situation. On 6th May the Minister of the Interior visited Bushire, where the shortage of wheat was said to have been partly caused by its being smuggled by local merchants to Kuwait. This year's crop, which will be harvested towards the end of June, should be a good one, but to bridge the gap the Minister arranged for supplies of rice to be made available. In Khuzistan the crop will not be adequate to meet the needs of the farmers themselves and the Governor-General, in addition to asking for supplies from other centres, has planned to form a company of the leading merchants in the province to sell grain at prices fixed by the Government. Harvest prospects in Seistan, the most important granary of East Persia, are also poor: though there is now water in abundance, the extreme drought last year and the drying up of the Helmand River resulted in a very small area being sown. Crops are expected to be only 45 per cent. to 60 per cent. of a normal year's yield.

16. The Commission of the Ministry of Labour appointed to examine conditions in the Isfahan textile industry has now completed its investigations. Meanwhile conditions are still unsettled (see paragraph 18 of Monthly Report for February) and at the beginning of the month a strike was threatened at the large Pashmbaf factory, which has about 1,300 employees. Wages are two months in arrears and the directors, who were assumed to have misappropriated the funds, have fled to Tehran. However, a loan of 2 million rials has been granted by the National Bank and work has been continued without interruption. Work on the Kuhrang irrigation scheme is still delayed. The Shah, who hoped to inaugurate the work early in June, is not now likely to do so before September.

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17. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo; Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy, Bagdad; Political Intelligence Centre, Middle East, through

B.M.E.O.; United Kingdom High Commissioners at Karachi and New Delhi, and to all His Majesty's consular officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

M. J. CRESWELL

E 9034/9034/34

No. 13

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN PERSIA, 1948

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 6th July)

(No. 232)

Tehran,

Sir, 28th June, 1948.

With reference to Sir John le Rougetel's despatch No. 212 of 18th June, 1947, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a list of personalities in Persia revised for 1948.

I have, &c.

M. J. CRESWELL.

Enclosure in No. 13

Report on Leading Personalities in Persia for 1948 Index

1. Adl, Mustafa (Mansur-us-Saltaneh).
2. Afshar, Riza.
3. Ala, Husain, C.M.G. (Mu'in-ul-Vizareh).
4. 'Alam, Asadullah.
5. Amini, Dr. Ali.
6. Amir Ahmadi, Ahmad, General (Sipahbud).
7. Amir Alai, Shams-ud-Din.
8. Amiri, Javad.
9. Amir-Taimur Kalali, Muhammad Ibrahim.
10. Ansari, Abdul Husain Mas'ud.
11. Ansari, Ghulam Ali, Brigadier (Sartip).
12. Aqeeli, Farajullah, Major-General (Sarlashgar).
13. Aramish, Ahmad.
14. Arasteh, Nadir.
15. Ardalan, Dr. Ali Quli.
16. Ardalan, Amanullah (Haji Izz-ul-Mamalik).
17. Ardalan, Nasir Quli.
18. Arfa, Hassan, Major-General (Sarlashgar).
19. As'Ad, Muhammad Taqi (Amir-i-Jang).
20. Asadi, Salman.
21. A'Azam-Zanganeh, Dr. Abdul Hamid.
22. Azudi, Yaddullah (Amir A'zam).
23. Bader, Mahmud.
24. Bahar (Malik-ush-Shuara).
25. Bahrani, Farajullah (Dabir-i-A'zam).
26. Bahrani, Fazlullah.
27. Bakhtiari, Abul Qasim Khan.
28. Bakhtiari, Murteza Quli Samsam.
29. Bayandur, Ghulam Husain, Captain (Nakhuda-yekum).
30. Bayat, Murteza Quli (Saham-es-Sultan).
31. Bushiri-Dehdasti, Agha Javad (Amir Humayun).
32. Danishian, Ghulam Yahya.
33. Dashti, Ali.
34. Fahimi, Khalil (Fahim-ul-Mulk).
35. Farhudi, Dr. Husain.
36. Farrukh, Mehdi (Mu'tasim-us-Saltaneh).
37. Farzaneh, Hassan.
38. Fatih, Mahmud.
39. Fatih, Mustafa.
40. Fatimi, Mehdi (Imad-us-Saltaneh).
41. Fatimi, Saifpur.
42. Fidakar, Taqi.
43. Firuz, Muhammad Husain, Major-General (Sarlashgar).
44. Firuz, Muhammad Vali Mirza (Farman-farmaiyan).
45. Firuz, Muzaffar.
46. Furuhar, Abbas.
47. Furuhar, Abul-Qasim.
48. Furuhar, Ghulam Husain.
49. Ghaffari, Hassan Ali (Mu'avin-ud-Dauleh).
50. Ghaffari, Amir Saham-ud-Din (Zuka-ud-Dauleh).
51. Ghani, Qasim.
52. Hajir, Abdul Husain.
53. Hakimi, Ibrahim (Hakim-ul-Mulk).
54. Hidayat, Abdullah, Major-General (Sarlashgar).
55. Hidayat, Izzatullah.
56. Hikmat, Ali Asghar.
57. Hikmat, Riza (Sardar Fakhr).
58. Humayunjah, Muhammad Ali.
59. Ibtihaj, Abul Hassan.
60. Ibtihaj, Ghulam Husain.
61. Intizam, Abdullah.
62. Intizam, Nasrullah.
63. Iqbal, Ali.
64. Iqbal, Manuchihr.
65. Isfandiari, Asadullah Yamin (Yamin-ul-Mamalik).
66. Isfandiari, Fathullah Nuri.
67. Isfandiari, Musa Nuri (Muvaffad-us-Saltaneh).
68. Iskandari, Abbas.
69. Iskandari, Iraj.
70. I'tibar, Dr. Husain Abdul.
71. I'timadi, Nasir Quli (Nassr-ul-Daulah).
72. Jahanbani, Amir Lashkar Amanullah, General (Sipahbud).
73. Jahanbani, Muhammad Husain, Brigadier (Sartip).
74. Jam, Mahmud (Mudir-ul-Mulk).
75. Kafa'i, Hassan.
76. Kamal Hidayat, Husain Ali (Nassr-ul-Mulk).
77. Kambakhsh, Abdus Samad.
78. Kazimi, Baqir (Muazzib-ud-Daulah).
79. Kazimi, Mustafa (Dabir-ul-Mulk).
80. Kashani (or Kashi) Saiyid Abul Qasim.
81. Khajeh-Nuri, Ghulam Ali (Nizam-us-Saltan).
82. Khusruvani, Ahmad, Major-General (Sarlashgar).
83. Kishavarz, Dr. Faridun.
84. Kooros, Issa (Esau).
85. Kupal, Sadiq.
86. Lankarani, Shaikh Husain.
87. Malik, Dr. Sa'id (Luqman-ul-Mulk).
88. Mansur (Rajab) Ali, C.B.E. (Mansur-ul-Mulk).
89. Marzban, Dr. Ismail (Amir-ul-Mulk).
90. Mas'ud, Akbar (Sarim-ud-Daulah).
91. Mas'udi, Abbas.
92. Matin-Doftari, Dr. Ahmad.
93. Misbah-Fatimi, Ali Naghi.
94. Muazid, Mas'ud.
95. Mudabbir-Nuri, Kasim (Mudabbir-us-Saltaneh).
96. Muqaddam, Hassan, Major-General (Sarlashgar).
97. Musaddiq, Dr. Muhammad (Musaddiq-us-Saltaneh).
98. Musavizadah, Ali Akbar.
99. Mutamidi, Ali.
100. Nabavi, Taqi (Muazziz-ud-Daulah).
101. Nafisi, Hassan (Musharaf-ul-Daulah).
102. Nafisi, Said.
103. Najm, Abul-Qasim.
104. Nakhai, Muhammad.
105. Nakhchevan, Ahmad, Major-General (Sarlashgar).
106. Nakhchevan, Muhammad (Amir Muwassaq), General (Sipahbud).
107. Nasr, Sayyid Ali.
108. Nikpay, I'zaz (Azizullah).
109. Nurzad, Ghulam Riza.
110. Pahlavi, Shah Muhammad Riza.
111. Pahlavi, Royal Family.
112. Pakravan, Fathullah (Amir-i-Arfa').
113. Pirnazar, Hassan.
114. Pishavari, Mir Jafar.
115. Purvali, Abul-Qasim.
116. Qadimi, Dr. Husain.
117. Qajar, Abul Fath (Salar-ud-Daulah).
118. Qaraguzlu, Ali Riza (Baha-ul-Mulk).
119. Qaraguzlu, Husain Ali.
120. Nizam-Qaraguzlu, Husain Quli (Amir Nizam).
121. Qashqai, Khusru.
122. Qashqai, Malik Mansur.
123. Qashqai, Muhammad Husain.
124. Qashqai, Muhammad Nasir.
125. Qavam, Ibrahim (Qavam-ul-Mulk).
126. Qavam, Ahmad (Qavam-us-Saltaneh).
127. Qubadian, Abbas (Amir Makhsus).
128. Quds, Husain.
129. Radmanish, Dr. Riza.
130. Rahnama, Zain-ul-Abadin.
131. Rais, Muhsin.
132. Razmara, Haji Ali, General (Sipahbud).
133. Sadiq, Dr. Issa (Sadiq-i-A'lam).
134. Sadiq, Abul Hasan.
135. Sadiq, Sadiq (Mustashar-ud-Daulah).
136. Sadr, Sayyid Muhsin (Sadr-ul-Ashraf).
137. Sa'id, Muhammad (Sa'id-ul-Vizareh).
138. Sajjadi, Muhammad.
139. Salih, Allayar.
140. Sami'i, Hussain (Adib-us-Saltaneh).
141. Sanjabi, Kerim.
142. Sayyah, Hamid.
143. Sayyah, Kazim.
144. Shafai, Ismail, Major-General (Sarlashgar).
145. Shahbakhti, Muhammad, General (Sipahbud).
146. Shams-ul-Mulk Ara'i, Asadullah (Shahab-ud-Daulah), K.C.V.O.
147. Shayigan, Dr. Sayyid Ali.
148. Shirvani, Abu Talib (Banan-us-Sultan).
149. Siasi, Ali Akbar.
150. Sipahbudi, Anushirvan.
151. Sipahr, Ahmad Ali (Muvarrikh-ud-Daulah).
152. Suhaili, Ali.
153. Sururi, Muhammad.
154. Taba, Dr. Abdul Husain.
155. Tabatabai, Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq.
156. Tabatabai, Sayyid Zia-ud-Din.
157. Tadayun, Sayyid Muhammad.
158. Tahiri, Dr. Hadi.
159. Taqizadeh, Hasan.
160. Uvaisi, Ali Muhammad.
161. Varasteh, Muhammad Ali.
162. Vasiqi, Sadiq.
163. Vossuq, Hasan, G.C.B. (Vossuq-ud-Daulah).
164. Yazdan Panah, Murteza, General (Sipahbud).
165. Yazdi, Dr. Murtaza.
166. Zahidi, Fazlullah (Basir-i-Divan), Major-General (Sarlashgar).
167. Zand, Ibrahim.
168. Zarin-Fafsh, Ali Asghar.

I. Adl Mustafa (Mansur-us-Saltaneh)

Born in Tabriz about 1885. Went to Egypt when quite young. There he finished his primary education and afterwards went to Paris. In Paris he studied law, and graduated from the Faculty of Law in that city. Secretary at the consulate at Tiflis in 1903. At the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for a short period, and then transferred to the Ministry of Justice. Appointed a member of the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission in 1913. Since then employed principally as Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice until 1927. He became in that year legal adviser to the Ministry and drafted a number of new judicial codes. A member of the Supervisory Board of the National Bank from 1929-32; in 1933 Director of the Legislation Department of the Ministry of Justice, and professor in the Law Academy at Tehran.

Appointed Persian Minister at Berne in 1934. Recalled to Tehran, December 1936. Political Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, March 1937. Under-Secretary, July 1937. Acting Minister, March 1938. Minister at Rome, July 1938, and also accredited to Budapest, September 1938.

Returned from Rome late in 1941. Director of the Faculty of Law 1941. Minister of Education in Soheily's Cabinet, March to August 1942. He was not conspicuous for help to the Allied cause in 1942. He was, however, appointed Minister without Portfolio in Soheily's Cabinet, January to March 1944, and again in Sa'id's Cabinet from March to August 1944 when, on the reconstruction of the

Cabinet, he was dropped. Minister of Justice in Bayat's Government of November 1944 and again Minister without Portfolio in Sadr's Cabinet of June 1945. Delegate to U.N.O., January 1946.

Minister of Justice and later Minister without Portfolio under Qavam-us-Saltaneh June to December 1947. Minister without Portfolio in Hakimi Cabinet December 1947, and again under Hajir June 1948.

A quiet little man without much personality. A good bridge player. Speaks French.

2. Afshar, Riza

Born at Urumieh (now Reza'iyyeh) about 1888. Joined the Ministry of Finance as a young man, and during Mirza Kuchik Khan's rebellion in Gilan acted as financial agent to him; and soon after the war he got away with certain funds from the Finance Office in Resht. With these he bought carpets and took them to America for sale. Served also under Sir P. Cox, who paid him well. Returned to Persia in 1921, full of American ideas and education. Joined the staff of Dr. Millsaugh, the American financial adviser. A staunch supporter of the Pahlavi régime; elected to the 5th 6th and 7th Majlis. Opposed Firuz Mirza when the latter was Minister of Finance. Governor of Gilan in 1929. While at that post he organised the Gilan Import and Export Company, which was founded in opposition to Russian trade monopoly methods. As a result he incurred the hostility of the Russian interests there. Governor-General of Kerman in 1931. Minister of Roads in February 1932.

Resigned in the following July, being unable to build the Chalus road fast enough for the Shah. Governor of Isfahan September 1932 to December 1933. Was put under surveillance in Tehran in 1935 owing to supposed inefficiency (perhaps complicity) in connexion with the Bakhtiari plots in 1934. Sentenced to six months' imprisonment and permanent exclusion from Government service, in June 1936, for accepting a bribe when Minister of Roads.

Governor-General of Isfahan, May-June 1944, until Supreme Court of Appeal decided he was ineligible for office on the grounds of the sentence passed on him in 1936. Secretary to the Iranian Airways, December 1944. Elected to 15th Majlis for Tehran.

Speaks English fluently. Full of ideas and energy. Very nationalistic, and rather anti-British and anti-Russian.

3. Ala, Hussein, C.M.G. (Mu'in-ul-Vizareh)

Born about 1884. Son of the late Prince Ala-es-Saltaneh, for many years Persian Minister in London. Educated at Westminster School, where he seems to have received rough treatment, which resulted in a strong anti-British bias, at any rate for the next few years. Created C.M.G. in 1905, when he accompanied his father on a special mission to London for the coronation of the late King Edward VII. Appointed "chef de cabinet" in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1906, his late father being then Minister for Foreign Affairs. He remained as "chef de cabinet" to various Ministers until 1915. Appointed Minister of Public Works in January 1918, and continued to direct that Ministry during the Cabinet presided over by Samsam-us-Saltaneh, which was in power from May to August 1918. This Cabinet abrogated the Treaty of Turkmanchai.

Ala was hostile to Sir Charles Marling. His Majesty's Minister from 1915 to 1918, and caused repeated complaints to be made to the Foreign Office through his brother, who was then Persian Minister in London. He accompanied the abortive Persian mission to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918. Appointed Persian Minister at Madrid in 1919, and at Washington in 1920. Conducted negotiations in Washington in 1921-22 for the American Financial Mission to Persia, after he had failed to obtain the North Persia Oil Concession first for the Standard Oil Company and then for the Sinclair Corporation. Returned from Washington in 1925 and took his seat in the fifth Majlis as a Deputy for Tehran. Minister of Public Works for a short time in May 1927. Second delegate to the League of Nations for some time. Attended Locarno in that capacity in December 1928.

Appointed Minister at Paris in 1929. One of the Persian delegates selected to represent Persia before the League of Nations in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company dispute in 1933. Returned to Tehran early in 1933 to take over a high post in the National Bank of Persia, though he had no particular knowledge of banking. Was also very active in the organisation of the "Red Lion and Sun," and in the Ferdousi Memorial Committee.

In 1931 his transfer to the post of Minister in London was mooted, though it did not materialise. On that occasion His Majesty's Government were unwilling to receive him, on the ground that his attitude in reporting a libel on His Majesty King George V rendered it difficult to suppose that he was then animated by friendly sentiments.

Appointed Minister in London, July 1934. Recalled in the summer of 1936; returned to Tehran in October. Appointed Supervisor of Monopoly Companies, December 1936. Director-General of

Commerce in 1937, and given the new appointment of Minister of Commerce in September 1937. Removed from this appointment, April 1938. Chief Persian attached to Major-General the Earl of Athlone and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice during their visit to Tehran for the Crown Prince's wedding, April 1939. President of the National Bank, October 1941. Minister of Court, October 1942, but appears to have done nothing to curb the young Shah's evident intention to rule the country in much the same way as his father did.

Appointed Ambassador to Washington in August 1945 when status of Persian Legation there was raised to that of an embassy. Was very active in giving publicity in the United States to the Persian case over the Azerbaijan problem and showed ability in presenting Persia's case to the Security Council.

Married Fatimeh Khanum, the only daughter of the late Abu'l Qasim Khan Qaragozlou (Nasir-ul-Mulk). Regent of Persia, in July 1927. Mme. Ala was one of the first of her generation to leave off the veil.

A hard worker and a staunch patriot; intelligent and well-read; interested in the literature of many countries and quite a good pianist. Has a perfect command of English and speaks good French. In the past he has had a reputation for anti-British sentiments. In 1943 and 1944, however, his relations with the British Legation were good; he seems a good deal more anti-Russian than anti-British, and is doubtless more pro-Persian than either. He is a sensitive Persian Nationalist who realises the failings of his fellow-countrymen. Tends to overrate the virtues of the Shah.

4. 'Alam, Asadullah

Son of the late Shaikat-ul-Mulk, who was hereditary Khan of Birjand and the Kainat, he has inherited much of his father's influence over the Baluchi tribes of East Persia. In 1947 appointed Governor-General of Persian Baluchistan.

Most friendly and helpful to the British. Married to a daughter of Qavam-ul-Mulk. Speaks good English and French.

5. Amini, Dr. Ali

Fourth son of Mohsen Amini (Amin-ed-Douleh). Born at Tehran in 1903. Educated in Persia and in France. Studied law at Paris. Married one of the daughters of Hassan Vussugh (Vussugh-ed-Douleh). Served for some years in the Customs Administration; appointed acting head of Customs about May 1936 and (1939) head thereof until the autumn, when General Amir Khosrovi had him transferred to the Ministry of Finance as one of the Minister's assistants.

Secretary to Qavam-us-Saltaneh when Prime Minister in 1942. Appointed as head of a commercial mission to Washington by the latter, but did not proceed.

Was sent by the Persian Government to India in 1945 to study the possibilities for developing trade between India and Persia and to examine the foreign exchange control question. Chairman of the board of directors of the Industrial Bank, November 1946. Member of Democrat Party of Iran. Elected to 15th Majlis for Tehran.

Speaks French and is intelligent. Accused by his enemies of various kinds of peculation and sharp practice. An agreeable and usually helpful representative of the younger school.

6. Amir Ahmadi, Ahmad, General (Sipahbud)

Born in Tehran about 1880. Comes from an Ardebil family, his forbears having emigrated from the Caucasus. Enlisted in the Cossack Brigade in

1890 and received speedy promotion; he was soon commissioned, and was a general in 1920. Took a prominent part in operations against the Jangalis in 1919. When the army was reorganised in 1922 he was given the rank of Amir Lashkar (chief of a division) and placed in command of the Western Division with headquarters at Hamadan. Was recalled on account of his shameless robbery and for his treacherous oppression of the Lurs; but, being a favourite of Reza Shah's, he was appointed to command the amnieh or road guards. Appointed in 1926 to command the North-West Division, while retaining command of the amnieh. Recalled the next year, and appointed to command in Luristan in the spring of 1928. He succeeded in pacifying Luristan by the summer, and in disarming the Lurs; he also assisted in the construction of the Khorramabad road. Promoted Sepahbod (field-marshal) in April 1929 as a reward for his services. Returned to Tehran for medical treatment, and left for Europe in 1930. Sent to Kurdistan to disarm the Kurds in December 1931. Commanded operations against Jaafar Sultan in 1932, and against Lurs in 1933. Director of Remounts, 1935.

Minister of War in Faruqi's Cabinet which negotiated the Tripartite Treaty in 1942. Military Governor of Tehran with wide powers to suppress the rioting in December, 1942; and then Minister of War under Qavam-es-Saltaneh and Soheily. Resigned December 1943 when Soheily reformed his Cabinet and at the Shah's instance appointed Zand, a civilian, as Minister of War. Refused command of the Southern division as he considered he would not be properly supported in Tehran in that appointment. Suspected by the Russians and disliked by the Shah and Yazdan-Panah for his attempt to insist on the authority of the Ministry of War and to limit the Shah's intervention in matters of command and administration. Ambitious and always hopeful of becoming Prime Minister. Though his record of bribe-taking and his sketchy education do not make him a satisfactory candidate for a head of Government, he has shown himself a man of action and determination in times of crisis, and has been very friendly to us since Reza Shah's departure. Minister of War in Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946. Resigned July 1947. Appointed Minister of the Interior in Hakimi's Cabinet March 1948 and Minister for War under Hajir, June 1948. Speaks Russian. His accumulated wealth and large properties appear to have satisfied his desires, so that he seems to have got over his youthful inclination towards robbery.

7. Amir Alai, Shams-ud-Din

Born about 1896. Senior official in the Ministry of Agriculture until his appointment as Acting Minister under Qavam-us-Saltaneh, February 1946. Appointed Minister under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August and again in October 1946.

Dropped when the Cabinet was re-formed in January 1947. Quiet, ineffective little man with no great administrative capabilities, but will always do what he is told.

8. Amiri, Javad

Born in Tehran 1895, from a Semnan family. Educated in Persia and France. Speaks French, and has studied law in Paris. Entered the service of the Ministry of Justice in 1914, and was for many years assistant to the French judicial adviser attached to the Ministry of Justice. Was a professor in the law school. In 1928 appointed president of the Tribunal of Commerce. President of the court of first instance in Tehran 1931-34. Director of the Department of Legislation in the Ministry of

Justice in 1934. Went to Bagdad with Fathullah Noury Esfandiary in December 1935 as legal and technical adviser in the abortive negotiations about the frontier, &c., with Iraq. Juridical Counsellor in charge of the Advisory Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1938. Administrative Director-General, August 1938, and Under-Secretary, January 1939, in that Ministry.

In charge of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at the time of the invasion 1941. Minister of the Interior in Soheily's Cabinet 1942, and later Minister of Justice; in the former post he was a disappointment, in the latter he was more at home but was soon replaced. Elected to the 14th Majlis from Semnan, December 1943. Re-elected to 15th Majlis, 1947.

Accompanied Qavam-us-Saltaneh on his mission to Moscow in February 1946.

A man of considerable influence and importance in his capacity as technical adviser on legislation. Having been trained by the French legal advisers here, his ideas of law are somewhat different from those held by British lawyers.

Conscientious and hard-working, with a lawyer's capacity for rapid assimilation of detail. Amiable but weak.

9. Amir-Taimur Kalali, Muhammad Ibrahim

Born about 1895. Member of a well-known Khorassan tribe. Educated in Tehran. Elected to the Majlis in the time of Reza Shah, and again for Meshed in the 14th Majlis elections, 1943, where he headed the poll. Vice-President of the Majlis 1944.

A rich landowner who smokes opium. Was on Foundation Committee of Irano-Soviet Cultural Relations Society, March 1944.

In 1945 he showed an inclination to turn to the Embassy for support against Russian pressure.

Arrested August 1946 under Military Law Ordinance. Released after a short detention. Elected Deputy for Meshed in 15th Majlis.

A talkative demagogue, fond of working himself into passionate indignation about subjects which he does not understand. For instance, he opposed the Tripartite Treaty and caused the Ferougi Cabinet a great deal of trouble. But he is amenable to argument, and, though pig-headed and vain, is not entirely without good ideas.

10. Ansari, Abdul Hussein Mas'ud

The eldest son of the late Ali Quli Ansari Mushavir-ul-Mamlik. Born 1899. Educated at Tehran and in Europe. Joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1920. Served for a number of years in the Persian Embassy at Moscow as secretary, and his rapid promotion is largely due to his father's influence. Counsellor at Moscow in 1927, and held that post till he was transferred to Tehran in 1931. Head of the Economics Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in September 1933. Went to Germany as a member of the Persian Economic Mission to Germany in July 1935. Head of the Third Political Section (dealing with British affairs) 1936. Head of the Protocol Department, November 1937. Consul-General, Delhi, May 1938. Minister to Sweden 1941. Returned to Tehran in 1944 and was appointed Head of the Tripartite Pact Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Vice-President of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society, March 1945. Appointed Governor-General of Gilan, November 1945. Appointed Governor-General of Isfahan, October 1947.

He has, while Governor-General of Isfahan, been markedly friendly to His Majesty's Consul and also

to the British Council there. Speaks Russian, French and German.

Married a Russian in Moscow; the lady was suspected of being a spy; she died in Berlin in 1936 leaving one child, a boy. Married an Iranian in 1937.

11. Ansari, Ghulam Ali, Brigadier (Sartip)

Born about 1890, of a military family in Isfahan. Educated in France—was private in French army and later trained at Fontainebleau Artillery School. Soon earned a reputation for honesty and energy in the army. Military attaché at Washington 1917-18. Then studied at Ecole de Guerre in France and passed with distinction. Removed from army in 1937 by Riza Shah, rejoined in 1941. Director of Artillery, November 1941. Commandant of the Officers' School, June 1942. Assistant to General Greely, United States army, when adviser to the Ministry of War, August 1942. Under-Secretary of War September 1943-April 1944. Head of Baluchistan Inspection Commission, November 1944. Deputy Chief of General Staff, January 1945; dismissed when Qavam came into power, February 1946. Inspector in the Ministry of War, April 1946. Was a close associate of General Arfa before Arfa was arrested in April 1946, since when he has been the target for much abuse in the Russian-controlled section of the press. A patriot with anti-Russian sentiments. Honest, hard-working and serious. Unpopular in army because of a rough tongue, a strong temper and an uncompromising mind.

Married to a daughter of Abdul Hussain Shaibani (Wahid-ul-Mulk).

12. Aqevli, Farajullah, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born in Isfahan 1888, the son of the late Dr. Amanullah Khan, a well-known physician. Educated in Tehran; speaks French and some English. Entered the service of the gendarmerie in 1911. His brother, Colonel Fazlullah Khan, committed suicide when a member of the Anglo-Persian Military Commission, which sat in 1919-20.

Appointed general in 1922, and Chief of Staff to the Western Army in Hamadan. Military Governor of Gilan for a time in 1925. Governor-General of Khuzistan 1928 to 1930, during which time he showed administrative ability in establishing the authority of the new régime.

Accused of partiality towards the tribes, he was placed on the retired list in 1930.

Appointed Director-General of the Registration and Civil Census Department in 1932. Relieved of this appointment in 1934.

Re-employed in the army after the departure of Reza Shah, was suspected of pro-German bias at the time of the arrest of Zahidi in 1942. Head of the Gendarmerie in 1942 and did his best to re-organise that force; but was not in close agreement with the American Gendarmerie advisers. Arrested and removed with other suspects to Sultanabad in June 1943. Released at the end of the war with Japan. Appointed President of Military Tribunal, November 1945; Chief of General Staff under Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946. Resigned April 1946 on grounds of ill-health. In September he was appointed Governor of the Sepah (Military) Bank.

Minister of the Interior for a few weeks in Qavam's Cabinet June 1947 and again in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947. Resigned March 1948 following a violent outburst in the Majlis which gained him much unpopularity.

Suffers from a weak heart affected by rheumatism and is no longer capable of much effort.

13. Aramish, Ahmad

Born about 1902. Has held various Government posts. June 1944 was in charge of all Accounts Departments in the Ministry of Finance factories. Acting Minister of Commerce and Industry June 1946—resigned September 1946. Set up the Labour Inspection administration in Khuzistan in June 1946 and became Secretary-General to the Democrat Party of Iran July 1946. Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Prime Minister October 1946 when he resigned his secretaryship of the Democrat Party of Iran. Under-Secretary of State to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry late October 1946. Whilst Minister of Labour and Propaganda was strongly opposed by many of his Cabinet colleagues because of his efforts to collect party funds by irregular means which he was suspected of turning to his own advantage. His Ministry's programme of social reform was also extremely unpopular with certain Right-wing members of his party.

Omitted when Qavam re-formed his Cabinet in June 1947.

Affable and energetic but unreliable, immature and lacking political sense. Speaks good English and French.

14. Arasteh, Nadir

A Qajar prince. Born about 1893. Governor of Pahlavi in 1928. Deputy-Governor of Azerbaijan in 1930-32. Governor of Khuzistan, May 1932-August 1933. Has also served in the Persian Legation in London. Appointed Minister to Poland, December 1933. Appointed first Persian Minister to the Argentine Republic, August 1935; presented his letters in October 1935. Recalled to Tehran, October 1936; the post being abolished. In charge of the Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for a short while in 1937. Minister at Berlin, August 1937. Accredited also to The Hague in 1939. Recalled from Berlin, May 1940. Governor-General of Mazandaran, January 1942 and of Gilan, January 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, November 1944 in Bayat's Government and for Communications in Sadr's Cabinet, June to November 1945. Appointed Governor-General, Isfahan, May 1946, withdrawn October 1946.

15. Ardalan, Dr. Ali Quli

Born about 1900; brother of Amanullah Ardalan. Served mostly under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in various posts from 1922. Secretary at Washington, 1932, where he had a dispute with Ghaffar Jalal, the Minister. Counsellor at Vichy after the collapse of France in 1940. Returned to Tehran 1942 and was in charge of the English section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for more than a year, fulfilling his duties with efficiency. Counsellor at Ankara at the end of 1945.

Speaks English. Very helpful to us while he was at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

16. Ardalan, Amanullah (Haji Izz-ul-Mamalik)

Born about 1888. Son of Haji Fakhr-ul-Mulk of Kurdistan. Educated at Tehran. Elected a Deputy to the second Majlis through the influence of his father, when the latter was Governor of Arabistan. Served first in the Ministry of Finance. An active member of the Democratic party and elected to the third Majlis from Kermanshah. A pro-German during the war of 1914-18, he left Persia for Turkey at that time. After the war he became financial agent for Kerman through bribing Akbar Mirza, the Minister of Finance, and made a good thing of that post. Financial agent for Fars 1922-23. A member of the fifth Majlis. A close friend of Suleiman Mirza and the Socialists.

Minister of Public Works in Sardar Sepahi's Cabinet of October 1923. Resigned, April 1924. Again employed under the Ministry of Finance in Kerman and Fars. Governor of Astarabad 1928; of Luristan, &c., in 1932, of Gilan in 1933, and again of Luristan in 1934, of Bushire and the Gulf Ports 1935; and Governor-General of Kerman in May 1936. Recalled in August 1937.

Governor-General of Azerbaijan (West) at the time of the invasion 1941; fled precipitately to Tehran when the Russians advanced, fearing that revenge would be taken on him for various anti-Russian measures which he had been ordered to take. Then Director-General of Ministry of Finance, and Governor of Isfahan in 1942. Minister of Public Health in Soheily's Cabinet of February 1943. Minister of Finance in Soheily's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Minister of Commerce and Industry in Su'id's Cabinet, March 1944 but dropped in August 1944. Returned to Cabinet under Bayat in November 1944, resigned April 1945. Minister of Justice in Hakimi's Cabinet November 1945-January 1946.

Appointed Minister of Roads and Communications in Hakimi's Cabinet, March 1948. Governor-General of Fars, June 1948.

Has been very helpful to us since 1941. Speaks some English. An intelligent and progressive person, though not over-scrupulous when it comes to taking money.

17. Ardalan, Nasir Quli

Born in Tehran 1896. Third son of the late Haji Fakhr-ul-Mulk, who was a Court official; his mother is the daughter of Izz-ed-Douleh and granddaughter of Mohammed Shah. Educated at Tehran and in Belgium. Spent a year in London learning English. Returned to Persia 1915 and entered the service of the Ministry of the Interior, where he served for fifteen years. Served as Governor of Do-Dangeh in Mazandaran, of Firuzkuh, and in Khuzistan as Acting Governor. Then was Governor of Sari, Acting Governor of Mazandaran, and Governor of Semnan. Governor of Mohammerah (Khorramshahr) in 1925, and Governor of Abadan in 1930. Employed in the National Bank since 1931.

Elected Deputy for Senneh in the Majlis elections of December 1943 and again in 1945 and 1947. Intelligent and capable.

18. Arfa, Hassan, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born about 1890, the eldest son of the late Prince Reza Arfa (Arfa-ed-Douleh). Educated in Russia and France; his mother, now mentally deranged, being a Caucasian. Joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1907 as secretary to the Persian Consulate at Tiflis. Secretary at the Persian Legation at St. Petersburg in 1908. Joined the gendarmerie in 1911; and has been in the army since then. Commanded the crack cavalry "Pahlevi" Regiment in 1931. Has served as military attaché in London for a short time, and has been a prominent officer in the new army. Accompanied the Shah on his State visit to Turkey in 1934. In 1935 on the General Staff, in charge of a training school. Persian delegate to the Zahidan Conference in 1935, where, no doubt under strict orders, he took an extremely nationalistic and anti-British standpoint. Officially attended Ataturk's funeral in 1938. Promoted Brigadier-General April 1939. Inspector of Cavalry 1942. Commanding the 1st Division 1943.

Appointed Chief of the General Staff, December 1945. Worked hard to resist "Tudeh" activities and had some success in organising resistance to the Azerbaijan Democrats and their independent Government in Tabriz. In consequence he incurred

enmity of the pro-Russian groups and when Qavam took office in February 1946 with the task of restoring good relations with Russia, Arfa was at once relieved of his post. Arrested April 1946 by order of Qavam-us-Saltanah. Released October 1946.

In 1947 started an "Asia Society" which aims at co-operation between Middle East States.

Speaks French, English, Turkish, and Russian. His anti-British utterances were no doubt a measure of prudence, as he is married to an Englishwoman, née Bewicke.

19. As'Ad, Muhammad Taqi (Amir-i-Jang)

Born about 1906, son of the late Sardar As'ad: a Bakhtiari Khan imprisoned with other tribal leaders under Reza Shah, released in September 1941. Owns properties near Dizful from where he was elected Deputy for the 14th Majlis. Was from the beginning one of the most loyal supporters of Sayyid Zia. Claims to have influence over Kurds because he had been sympathetic to Kurdish and other tribal leaders when in prison with them. Extremely friendly to the British.

Honest, patriotic and much opposed to the spread of Soviet influence.

20. Asadi, Salman

The eldest son of the late Mohammad Vali Asadi, mutawalli of the shrine at Meshed, who was shot for treason in 1935. Born about 1896. Educated at the American College, Tehran; spent a few years also at Cambridge and in London; speaks English. Owing to his father's influence elected to the Majlis as member for Seistan for the seventh and eighth sessions.

Served for a short time in the News Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as a translator. In charge of the Department of Propaganda 1941 to March 1942. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Food 1942 and worked hard to ensure the food supply of Tehran with Mr. Sheridan in the famine winter of 1942-43. Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Finance and Head of the Rice Monopoly April 1944. Member of Economic Section of Qavam's Mission to Moscow, February 1946. Appointed chairman of the Industrial Bank October 1946.

Minister of Labour, June to September 1947. Elected to 15th Majlis for Meshed.

Pleasant, well read and intelligent; but a bit of an intriguer and rather lazy. Not discreet, somewhat given to mis-statement and flattery, and unstable.

21. A'Azam-Zanganeh, Dr. Abdul Hamid

Born at Kermanshah about 1899, of a well-known family; his half-brother being Amir-i-Kull. Educated at Tehran in the Law School and the Political School. Went to Paris 1929 and obtained a doctorate in law and economics, his thesis being on oil; has also been in England. 1935 returned to Persia and was employed in the Ministry of Education; professor in the Law School. Also a pleader in the Court, mostly in mortgage-bank business and agricultural cases. Co-editor with Dr. Suratgar of the newspaper *Iran Javan*.

Deputy for the 14th and 15th Majlis for Kermanshah.

A small and quiet-spoken man; makes a good impression and seems intelligent.

22. Azodi, Yadullah (Amir A'zim)

Born in Tehran about 1890. The son of the late Nusratullah Mirza, and a grandson of Vajihullah Mirza Sepahsalar who was the grandson of Fath Ali Shah. Inherited large estates from his father,

all of which were situated in the neighbourhood of Damghan and Shahrud. Educated in Persia; has spent some years in Europe. Married first a daughter of Hasan Pirnia (Mushir-ed-Douleh), who died a few years later; he then married a daughter of Vossugh-ed-Douleh (Hasan Vossugh).

Entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1920. First secretary of the Persian Legation at Berlin in 1928, and for some time was *Chargé d'Affaires* there. *Chef de Personnel* at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1929-30. Counsellor at Washington 1931, and acted as *Chargé d'Affaires* there. Minister at Warsaw in March 1933; but recalled to Tehran as the result of some scandal dating from his Washington days the following December. Chief of the Passport Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, August 1935 (now known as the Consular Department). Administrative Director-General of the Ministry, March 1937, until November 1937. Minister of Roads under Qavam-es-Saltaneh 1942, and did well in that post. Resigned early in 1943 partly owing to accusations of nepotism; appointed Minister to Brazil, and proceeded thither July 1943.

Speaks French and German, and usually very helpful and forthcoming.

23. Bader, Mahmud

Younger brother of Abdul Wahhab Bader. Born in 1893. Educated in England. Has been in the service of the Ministry of Finance since 1910. Assistant to the Accountant-General at the Ministry of Finance for a number of years. Chief Accountant of the Ministry of Public Works October 1928. In the same capacity in the Ministry of Roads and Communications 1930. Director-General of the Ministry of Finance 1933. President of the Iranian Economic Mission to Germany in July 1935. Succeeded Abolghassem Ferouhar as Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Finance in April 1936. Appointed Acting Minister of Finance on the death of Davar in February 1937. Minister of Finance, September 1937 until October 1939.

Minister of Finance in Soheily's Cabinet 1942, and in that capacity showed himself helpful in smoothing over financial difficulties and in negotiating currency agreements. Minister of Industry in Soheily's Cabinet of 1943, but was not very successful in settling various wages disputes, and on Soheily's forming a new Cabinet in December 1943 he was not included in it.

Minister of Finance in Sadr's Cabinet, June-September, 1945. Capable and helpful but exposed himself to criticism for failing to suppress corruption and for introducing nepotism which, it was alleged, flourished in his Ministry on an excessive scale even by Persian standards.

Appointed head of the Shrine Office at Meshed, April 1948.

24. Bahar (Malik-ush-Shu'arā)

Born in Meshed, 1882. Son of a well-known poet named Sabouri. A member of the old Democratic party, and edited a paper in Meshed called the *No-Bahār*. A member of the third, fourth and fifth Majlises from Meshed, and of the sixth from Tehran. Edited his paper *No-Bahār* in Tehran during the war of 1914-18, and was pronouncedly pro-German. Nevertheless, he supported Vossugh-ed-Douleh's Cabinet of 1918-20 during which time he edited the *Iran* newspaper. Opposed the Government during the term of the fifth Majlis and was an opponent of the change of régime. An attempt was made on his life when the debate on the change of régime took place in the Majlis; but another unfortunate man who resembled him was the victim. Seyyid Hasan Mudarris helped him to get elected to the sixth Majlis.

Nothing much was heard of him during Reza Shah's reign, except that he composed some odes in celebration of the Firdausi centenary in October 1934, and translated into Persian verse a poem by John Drinkwater on that occasion. He has been exiled from Tehran on more than one occasion.

In spite of a fondness for opium has been fairly active at Tehran since the change of régime in 1941. Up to August 1942 he and Massoud Sabeti actively supported Qavam-es-Saltaneh's candidature for the post of Prime Minister. After the latter's fall early in 1943, he obtained newsprint from the Russians with which he kept his paper *No-Bahār* going. On Committee of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society, March 1944.

Minister of Education in Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946, dropped when Cabinet was re-formed in August 1946.

Elected to 15th Majlis for Tehran. Went to Switzerland for medical treatment, January 1948.

A shifty and over-subtle politician. Acknowledged to be a leading poet, and a practical newspaper writer.

25. Bahrami, Farajullah (Dabir-i-A'zam)

Born about 1890. A member of a well-known and numerous Tehran family. Munshi or secretary to Reza Shah before and after his accession to the throne in 1925. Was appointed member of a commission of examination in connexion with the Lionsoff Caspian Fishery claim, but resigned from that position.

Lost the Shah's full confidence in about 1927, and was sent abroad to take charge of the Persian students in Europe, at Paris, Berlin, &c. Returned to Persia about two years later. In July 1930 appointed Governor of Isfahan, and a year later Governor-General of Fars. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in March 1932. Resigned on the fall of the Hedayat Cabinet in September 1933, and was sent to Meshed as Governor-General in the following January. Superseded as Governor-General of Khorasan in October 1934, for reporting that adequate facilities did not exist at Meshed for the accommodation of the orientalists attending the Ferdousi millenary. In the summer of 1935 he was suspected of complicity in some plot and was exiled to Malayer. Allowed to return to Tehran under surveillance, October 1936.

Minister of the Interior in January 1943, but he very soon became involved in a quarrel with his chief, Qavam-es-Saltaneh, which led to the collapse of the latter's Cabinet. Is very alarmed at the Soviet menace to the independence of Persia. Governor-General of Isfahan, 1943-44.

A very friendly person, who always appears to do what he can to help British consular officers. Has great aspirations to literary eminence; a great admirer of Hafiz. As Minister he incurred some criticism from his fellow-countrymen for inaccessibility and lack of hospitality. Speaks very little French. Businesslike and hard-working.

26. Bahrami, Fazlullah

Born about 1897. For some time a colonel in the police, and in charge of the detective force. Acting chief of the Tehran Municipality in 1937. Director of Census and Civil Status, January 1938.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Soheily's Cabinet of 1942 and filled that post adequately. Head of the municipality again July 1943; suspended from his functions during the Tehran elections at the end of 1943 owing to accusations of illegal intervention in the elections, but resumed his functions January 1944.

Governor-General of Kerman 1944-45 where he showed great initiative by organising various

schemes for improving water supply, raising money for orphanages, &c.—popular there. Offered post of Governor-General, Kermanshah, in August 1945, but refused. Health undermined by malaria. Friendly and co-operative when in Kerman. Normally reserved and placid but clever and not easily taken in.

27. Bakhtiari, Abul Qasim Khan

Born 1915. Son of the late Amir-i-Mufakham. Educated in England. Governor of Kashan 1941-42. Set up as a rebel leader in Janiki in March 1942, but three months later surrendered to General Zahidi, who appointed him and Manuchihr Khan As'ad as army representatives responsible for order in Bakhtiari. Rebelled again after Zahidi's arrest, but was arrested in 1943 and went to Tehran. In 1946 appointed by Qavam-us-Saltaneh as co-Governor of Bakhtiari, and shortly afterwards entrusted with the formation of Qavam's Democrat Party there. Ordered to Tehran at the end of 1947 he refused, took to the hills, and after a short scuffle was once again arrested in April 1948. He was tried and condemned to three months' imprisonment and two years' banishment from tribal country, but his sentence was remitted by the Shah.

28. Bakhtiari, Murteza Quli Samsam

The son of the famous Samsam-us-Saltaneh. Born probably about 1875. Took part in operations against Salar-ud-Douleh in 1911. Represented the Bakhtiari tribe in the Majlis in the same year, and appointed Ilbeggi of the tribe in 1912. Governor of Yezd in 1914. Helped the Germans during the war 1914-18. Made his peace with the British Legation after the war. Has held the appointment of Ilbeggi or Ilkhani of the tribe on several occasions. Was with the tribe when most of the Bakhtiari Khans were arrested in December 1933; he then had the appointment of Ilkhani. He escaped the fate of his fellow khans, and has assisted the Government in their policy of inducing the Bakhtiari tribe to abandon their traditional nomadic habits. Appointed Governor of Bakhtiari early in 1943 and did well, suppressing various upstarts like Abol Ghassem and establishing order in that tribal area, thereby serving British interests well during the war. By the end of 1945 he had, however, become unpopular with the other tribal khans and he was relieved of his appointment by Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Arrested in September 1946 for complicity in joint Bakhtiari-Qashqai rising. Released December.

A clever man, not above intrigue. Quick-tempered, jovial and obstinate. Served Reza Shah well. Very pleasant to meet, but not the sort of man one can trust very far, as he is very much in the hands of his strong-minded wife and also places implicit trust in a worthless agent, Misbah Fatemi.

29. Bayandur, Ghulam Husain, Captain (Nakhuda-yekum)

Elder brother of Ghulam Ali Bayandur. Was a captain in the army until 1930, when he went to Italy on a course of naval engineering. Returned in 1934, and was appointed engineer officer of the southern naval force. Promoted major in 1935. Port officer of Abadan and Khorramshahr in 1936. Lieutenant-Colonel, 1938.

Keenly interested in mercantile affairs, and helped to float the monopoly company for the landing of cargo in the port of Khorramshahr in 1937. Transferred to General Staff 1944. Head of Naval Division in Ministry of War. Unpopular with his subordinates. Quick and hot-tempered, but less so than formerly. Uses his position for his financial advantage. Not very intelligent, but very hard-working. Speaks French and Italian. Does not appear to like the British.

30. Bayat, Murteza Quli (Saham es Sultan)

A landowner from Sultanabad, born about 1882. Owns considerable property. Member of the Majlis on several occasions, and Minister of Finance 1926-27. Deputy Speaker of the tenth Majlis. Member of the Adalat party 1942. Accused of hoarding wheat during the winter of 1942-43. Minister of Finance in Soheily's Cabinet 1943 and performed the useful function of effacing himself completely in favour of Dr. Millspaugh. Not included in Soheily's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Minister without Portfolio in Sa'id's Cabinet March-August 1944. Prime Minister November 1944-April 1945. He sought to improve relations with the Russians but his efforts only resulted in the paralysis of the administration of the country. Sent as Governor-General to Tabriz in December 1945 but failed to do anything to check the Azerbaijan independence movement and soon returned to Tehran. Joined Qavam's Cabinet in February 1946 as Minister of Finance, but was not included when Cabinet was re-formed in August 1946.

Speaks a little French.

31. Bushihri-Dehdasti, Agha Javad (Amir Humayun)

Born in Tehran 1898. Second son of the late Haji Muin-ut-Tujjar. Educated at Tehran and in Europe. Speaks French and English. Married a daughter of the late Haji Amin-uz-Zarb. Elected a member of the seventh Majlis.

Was in Hamburg at the outbreak of the war in 1939, and spent some time in Germany thereafter. Finally got away to Stamboul in 1942 with the help of Count Schulenburg and returned to Tehran March 1943. Arrested and sent to Sultanabad as a suspect in June 1943. Released May 1945. Appointed Governor-General of Fars October 1946 with approval of the Qashqais but only held the appointment for a few months.

Minister for Posts and Telegraphs under Qavam-al-Saltaneh September-December 1947, and Minister of Agriculture under Hajir June 1948. More interested in politics than his elder brother Agha Riza. Fond of pomp, and very extravagant in his manner of living. Nicknamed by some of his friends "Prince Merchant."

A clever man who in the past has always maintained friendly relations with British officials.

32. Danishian, Ghulam Yahiya

Is about 45 years old and is believed to have been born in Russian territory. He speaks Russian well, having been educated in that country, and it is said that he served with the Russian army in the Caucasus for a short time.

In 1937 he came to Azerbaijan and settled in Sarab, a village about half way between Tabriz and Ardabil. Some time later he was arrested by the Persian authorities on the charge of being a Soviet agent, and was imprisoned in Tehran. On the Russian occupation of Azerbaijan he obtained his release and went to live in Tabriz.

On the formation of the Tudeh Party, Danishian lost no time in joining it, and he was given the task of organising a branch at Sarab, and later another at Mianeh. At the latter village he came into active conflict with the Kherieh Party, which was strongly opposed to the Tudeh, and in the course of a skirmish Danishian was wounded. This provoked the wrath of the Russian commander of troops in Azerbaijan, General Glinski, who, as a reprisal, cast several of the leading personalities in Mianeh into prison in Tabriz.

The formation of the Azerbaijan Democrat Party brought Danishian an appointment as Commander of Fida'is in Mianeh and Zenjan. The landlords in Mianeh district decided to leave for Tehran for

security, and in their absence, Danishian looted their properties for his personal benefit with the result that he is now one of the wealthiest men in Azerbaijan.

Pishavari promoted Danishian to the rank of general on 5th April, 1946, his charge being the Fida'is in Sarab as well as in Mianeh and Zenjan. When the agreement was reached between Azerbaijan and the Central Government on 16th June, 1946, Danishian was promoted to be Commander-in-chief of the Fida'is and established himself in Tabriz. He made frequent tours of inspection of Azerbaijan in connexion with his duties and is reputed to have enjoyed the confidence of the Russians to the same extent as Pishavari himself. Danishian is reputed to be possessed of exceptional courage and determination, and the Democrat Party, including Pishavari, fear and hate him. Flew to Russia in December 1946 when Persian troops occupied Azerbaijan.

Reported to have been seriously injured in a motor accident in August 1947, but the following month was reported to be organising the rebel Barzani tribesmen.

33. Dashti, Ali

Born about 1887. Educated in the schools of the Holy Places of Iraq. Returned to Persia about 1922 and edited a paper called the *Shafaq Surkh*. As an editor he became notorious for slanderous abuse and the extortion of money by blackmail, and his abuse of Great Britain and British statesmen was frequently the subject of complaint from His Majesty's Legation to the Persian Government. He was elected a Deputy to the fifth Majlis in 1924, but he was refused a seat by the Parliamentary Commission, whose duty it was to scrutinise his election proceedings. He was prominent in the abortive Republican movement in 1924, and is said to have received and pocketed large sums from Reza Pahlavi, on whose behalf he worked. After acquiring a share of this world's goods he appeared to become more human and ceased the abuse and vituperation for which he had become famous. He espoused the cause of Reza Pahlavi against Ahmed Shah, and was elected a Deputy to the sixth Majlis in 1926. He was invited to Moscow in October 1927 to attend the tenth anniversary of the Soviet régime. From Moscow he went to Berlin and Paris and returned to Persia early in 1928. He was elected a Deputy to the seventh Majlis in 1928 and to the eighth Majlis in 1930.

Edited or controlled his paper till about July 1935, receiving subsidies now from the Shah and now from the Soviet Embassy.

In July 1935 he fell into disgrace and was said to have uttered disparaging remarks about Reza Shah's régime. His paper was suppressed and he himself was allowed to plead sickness and to retire to a Government hospital, where he was made to pay well for his maintenance.

At liberty again at the end of 1936. In charge of the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Interior in 1937.

Since the fall of Reza has returned to the forefront of Tehran politics. A severe critic of Feroughi and Soheily in 1942, he worked hard for the return of Qavam-us-Saltaneh as Prime Minister. When the latter came back to power and did not make Dashti a Minister, he turned against him and criticised him in many speeches. Elected to fourteenth Majlis 1943.

Since the oil crisis of 1944 he has opposed the spread of Russian influence in Persia, and has strongly supported the "resistance" Cabinets preceding Qavam-us-Saltaneh's. Was consistently

attacked by Tudeh press during this period. Arrested May 1946. Released December 1946.

Did not obtain a seat in fifteenth Majlis. He is a hot-headed firebrand with no scruples and no principles, and is capable of the basest villainy if it will help him to attain his ends. He speaks a little French. Trusted little even by his friends who regard his excessive attachment to women (which he publicly displays) as not in keeping with high office. A persuasive orator, who holds the attention of the Majlis as few other persons can do.

34. Fahimi, Khalil (Fahim-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1885. Related to the Mukhbir-ud-Douleh (Hedayat) family.

Employed in various posts in the Foreign Office early in his career. Minister of Finance in June 1922. Appointed Governor-General of Kerman in October 1925, but did not proceed. Member of the Majlis for Quchan on several occasions. *Rapporteur* of the Financial Commission of the Majlis. Supported, by a speech in the Majlis, the cancellation of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company concession. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in February 1934. Ambassador to Turkey, May 1936. Recalled, November 1939.

Prominent member of the Society of Supporters of the League of Nations, founded in December 1933. Governor-General at Tabriz, 1941, after the fall of Reza. Did not display much energy in dealing with a difficult and delicate situation. Recalled to Tehran at the end of 1942. Minister without portfolio in Soheily's Cabinet of 1943. Minister without portfolio August 1944-April 1945. Minister of Interior in Hakimi's Cabinet, November 1945, but was forced by the Prime Minister to resign at the end of December. Speaks French. Very agreeable and reasonable in conversation.

35. Farhudi, Dr. Hussein

Born about 1899. Son-in-law of Wahid-ul-Mulk Sahibani. Educated in Tehran. Served in various capacities in the Ministry of Education, at Tehran and in the provinces. Has also done newspaper work. One of the Directors-General of the Ministry, 1943. Successful candidate for Dasht-i-Mishun and Susangrid in the fourteenth Majlis, 1943. Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh, December 1946. Released January 1947. Deputy Prime Minister in Hakimi's Cabinet, December 1947. Speaks French.

36. Farukh, Mehdi (Mu'tasim-us-Saltaneh)

A Seyyid. Born about 1887. Was for some years in the employ of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and head of the 2nd Political Department, dealing with eastern countries. Minister at Kabul in 1927-28. Subsequently Director-General of Industry. Governor of Western Azerbaijan, February 1936. Again Director-General of Industry and Mines, September 1937, and shortly afterwards raised to the newly-created appointment of Minister of Industry and Mines. Removed from this post without explanation, March 1938.

Governor-General of Fars 1940, and of Kerman in 1941. Minister of the Interior of Soheily's Cabinet, July 1942, and in spite of Majlis opposition maintained his place in the Cabinet. Qavam-us-Saltaneh, in August, made him Minister of Food, in which post he displayed a sort of crazy activity which irritated many and did not achieve much. Having fallen out with the American adviser Sheridan, he left the Ministry of Food on the fall of the Qavam Cabinet in February 1943. Elected a Deputy for Zabul in the fourteenth Majlis, November 1943.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars, December 1945, but was recalled in February 1946.

37. Farzaneh, Hassan

Born about 1892. Educated at Tehran and in France. Was in the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for about twelve years, during which he acted as *Chargé d'Affaires* for Moscow and Rome in 1924 and 1929. Transferred to the Ministry of Interior in 1935, and appointed Governor of Khorramshahr in February 1936. Assumed charge of the Governorates of Khorramshahr and Abadan in October 1936. Employed in Ministry of Interior 1942. Head of Political Department 1943. Appointed Director-General of the Ministry of the Interior, December 1943. Governor-General of Gilan in November 1944 but recalled a year later as being too subservient to the Russians. Special Inspector, Ministry of Interior, April 1946.

Speaks French, a fair amount of English and a little Russian. Well educated and polished, keenly interested in westernisation.

38. Fatih, Mahmud

Brother of Mustafa Fatih. Born about 1900 at Isfahan and educated at Tehran and at Montpellier. Trained in agriculture and husbandry. In charge of the Karaj agricultural school for some years. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture 1943. Has planned a model village at Veramine, of which he is very proud. Minister of Agriculture in Sa'id's Cabinet, March 1944, but only retained office for a few days. Member of Directing Committee of the Seven-Year Plan, 1947.

Helpful and business-like, though inclined to be too optimistic and to imagine that all Persia's agricultural difficulties can be solved by tractors.

39. Fatih, Mustafa

Born in Isfahan about 1897. Son of Fatih-ul-Mulk, a servant of the Prince-Governor of Isfahan, Zill-us-Sultan. Educated at Tehran and at Columbia University, United States, where he graduated in economics. Entered the Anglo-Persian Oil Company about 1922 and is the senior Persian official in that company at Tehran, drawing a large salary. Author of a book on the economic condition of Persia, published in 1926. Appointed Assistant General Manager (Administration) of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in February 1947.

Has a son in England and a daughter married to Asghar Mirza, the son of Sarem-ud-Douleh. His wife was daughter of the Zill-us-Sultan's head secretary, Siraj-ul-Mulk.

Has a perfect command of English and is keenly interested in Persian politics. He also has an international outlook and a considerable knowledge of world politics, particularly those of the Left. Intelligent, friendly and very approachable. Is a mine of information about the foibles of his own countrymen.

40. Fatimi, Mehdi (Imad-us-Saltaneh)

Born about 1886. Has had an official career in the Ministry of Finance and in 1918 was financial representative in his native city of Isfahan, where he is influential both through his own family and through that of his wife, who is a daughter of the late Prince Zill-es-Sultan. Appointed Deputy-Governor of Fars in 1922-23. Elected a Deputy from Isfahan in the fifth and sixth terms of the Majlis. Appointed Minister of Education in August 1925. Minister of Justice in December 1925 and Minister of Interior February to May 1927.

As a Minister and a Deputy he was uniformly popular and successful. In 1928 he fell out with the Minister of Court and was not allowed to be elected to the seventh term of the Majlis. Elected a Deputy to the Eighth Majlis 1930. Governor of Gilan from December 1933 until October 1937.

Head of the Municipality of Tehran under Sulaili's Cabinet February 1943. Resigned 1943 and elected Deputy for Nain 1943. One of the leaders of the *Ittihad-i-Milli* group in the fourteenth Majlis which contained about twenty Right-wing members.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars in March 1946. Recalled during the Qashqai revolt in autumn but reappointed February 1947. Recalled May 1947.

Speaks a little French.

41. Fatimi, Saifpur

Born about 1905, one of three brothers, a Naini family which claims relationship with Mehdi Fatemy (Imad-us-Saltaneh), though the latter denies it. Educated at the Stuart Memorial College, Isfahan, where he became a baptised Christian; but he made away with some of the mission funds and the mission do not forgive him. He and another, named Hussein Sandat, wrote a book against Islam. In order to marry his present wife, who is well off, became a Bahai.

Farmandar (Governor) of Shiraz 1941-43; then resigned, apparently because he had amassed too much money there. His Majesty's Consul, Shiraz, considered him energetic, helpful and capable. Then returned to Isfahan as candidate for the Majlis for Najafabad, and though he had little real following in that area success was engineered for him by Morteza Quli Bakhtiari and Sarem ud Douleh. Intelligent, entirely unscrupulous, and very ambitious; speaks good English and has studied English and English literature, and can remember many extracts. At present (1944) it suits him to appear pro-British; he is certainly anti-Russian. Has many enemies, both Persian and British, but is a man who can, when he wishes, make himself very useful. Was largely responsible for organising the anti-Tudeh Workers' Union in Isfahan.

Before Qavam came into power in 1946, he pretended to be passionately opposed to him (a ruse enacted to please the British). In fact he almost certainly supported him as was shown by an article appearing in his brother's paper *Bakhtar* on the day that Qavam was elected.

After the demise of the 14th Majlis he went on a visit to the United States.

42. Fidakar, Taqi

Born about 1905, in Isfahan, of humble origin. Educated at the Saremieh school at Isfahan. As a boy he got into trouble for socialistic beliefs. Trained as a lawyer. Worked for a time in the Soviet Consulate-General at Isfahan in connexion with the sale of Soviet textiles in Isfahan. From 1940 onwards has devoted most of his energies to bettering the lot of the Isfahan factory workers and has done much to help them, as he has become the chief workers' representative in disputes about conditions of work. Founded a primitive sort of trade union for the protection of workers' interests, including insurance. Elected to the fourteenth Majlis for Isfahan 1943, being supported by the Tudeh party, of which he is a member, though he disclaims being a Communist and is not looked upon favourably by the Tudeh party in Tehran owing to his moderate views. He is thought not to have had any direct relations with the Soviet authorities concerning the elections. He is, of course, disliked by most of the capitalists of Isfahan, though some of them accept him as a fairly single-minded man. His main political following is among the factory workers and guilds and small bazaar men, who are naturally opposed to domination by the few rich families of Isfahan.

Lost his political following among the factory workers of Isfahan during 1944-45 when the Isfahan

workers' union broke away from the Tudeh. On coming to Tehran as a Deputy he immediately fell under Soviet influence.

In April 1946 succeeded in re-establishing Tudeh influence in the Isfahan factories.

43. Firuz, Muhammad Hussein, Major-General (Sar-lashgar)

Born about 1895. The fourth son of the late Farman Farma. Educated at the military college at Petrograd. Entered the Persian army during the 1914-18 war, and was regarded as one of the promising young officers of the army. Appointed Chief of Staff of the Southern Division in 1925, and did very good work in organising the troops in Fars and enforcing discipline and efficiency. Sent to Delhi as representative of the Persian army at the Indian army manoeuvres early in 1925. Fell under suspicion for some reason about 1929 and resigned his commission. His Qajar origin was no doubt the cause of his collapse.

Returned to Persia late in 1941, and was sent to Fars as G.O.C. and Governor-General in March 1942. Superseded in both appointments by Marshal Shahbakti a year later. He succeeded in keeping a rather precarious order in Fars, but never succeeded in repressing Nasir Qashqai's rebellious movement. Head of the air force, 1943. Again appointed Governor-General of Fars in early summer of 1944 but did not get on with the influential Qavam-ul-Mulk or the Qashqai Khans. His enemies accused him of weakness and of truckling too much to the Tudeh, but His Majesty's Consul, Shiraz, on the contrary, considered that his refusal to take unnecessarily repressive measures against the Tudeh was more sound. Appointed Minister of War in Sa'id's reconstituted Cabinet in August 1944 but refused the appointment. Minister of Communications in Hakimi's Cabinet November 1945. Resigned a month later. Returned to the same Ministry in Qavam's Cabinet in February 1946, but was left out when Qavam re-formed his Cabinet in October 1946. Appointed Inspector-General, Persian Air Force, March 1947.

Speaks very good French and some English; intelligent and enlightened. A brilliant talker, he seems capable of proving with most convincing reasons that he is always right—but one feels sometimes that he is too convincing. Very attached to his brother Firuz (Nusrat-ed-Doleh). Married a Miss Namazi, who was educated in Hong Kong and speaks English perfectly.

44. Firuz, Muhammad Vali Mirza (Farmanfar-maiyan)

Third son of the late Farman Farma. Born about 1893. Educated at Beirut and Paris. Sent to Tabriz as head of the Finance Department, 1915. Said to have taken many bribes while in that appointment. Is very thrifty and has large properties both in Tehran and Tabriz. Elected a Deputy to the fourth, fifth and sixth Majlises for Tabriz. On the fall of his brother, Nusrat-ed-Doleh, in 1931, he retired from public life and was seldom seen. Has been in Europe a good deal.

Elected to the thirteenth Majlis for Sarab in September 1941, and again to the fourteenth in November 1943. His appearance being that of an underfed bird of prey, seems to keep him in the background, but he has a good deal of his father's intelligence. Became Minister of Labour and Propaganda in October 1946 but resigned in December to stand as a candidate for the fifteenth Majlis. Went to Switzerland February 1947.

45. Firuz, Muzaffar

Born about 1910, grandson of Farman Farma, brother of Muhammad Shah, and accordingly uses the title of Prince in social life. Educated at Harrow and Cambridge. Speaks excellent English and fair French: is bitterly hostile to the Pahlavi dynasty and his sole *raison d'être* is to avenge the murder of his father by Riza Shah. His hostility has recently been sharpened by the fact that his wife's relation, Ismit-ul-Muluk, one of the wives of Reza Shah, was recently evicted from the palace on a charge of improper behaviour. At one time employed in Persian Legation in Washington, whence, it is believed, he was removed at the request of the United States Government for abuse of diplomatic bag privileges.

It was Firuz who went to Palestine and brought from there Sayyid Zia's first manifesto. He remained an ardent supporter of Sayyid Zia until May 1945 when he broke with him. He said that the breach was caused by Sayyid Zia's becoming more and more dictatorial, but Sayyid Zia's version was that they had to part because Firuz would not abandon his newspaper campaign, in the newspaper *Ra'd-i-Imruz* which he owned and edited, against the Shah, and Sayyid Zia felt that it was impossible to fight the Russians and the Shah at the same time. Towards the end of 1945 he became one of the chief supporters of Qavam-ul-Saltaneh. As a reward for this, Qavam, when he became Prime Minister in February 1946, appointed Firuz Political Under-Secretary, an office apparently created for the purpose, and Director of Propaganda. He became Minister of Labour and Propaganda in August 1946, but was dropped when Qavam-ul-Saltaneh re-formed his Cabinet in October 1946 and sent to Moscow as ambassador. Relieved of this appointment in the autumn of 1947 and took up his residence in Switzerland. In June 1948 he was reported to have been arrested in Paris on a charge of smuggling. He has a bent for propaganda and sensational journalism and has succeeded in making himself extremely unpopular even with his colleagues. His madness is enhanced by a titanic conceit but not by conspicuous courage.

Rash, unbalanced, dishonest, untruthful and malicious, would probably sacrifice anything to bring about the downfall of the Shah.

46. Furuhar, Abbas

Born about 1895. Though his junior in age, is an uncle of Abul-Qasim Furuhar. Member of the Protocol Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1934, and acted as head of that department in 1935 and part of 1936. Head of the Personnel Department, July 1936 to April 1937. Counsellor, Angora, until September 1938. Head of the Protocol Department, September 1938.

Sent to Beirut with the vague title of "Délégué" at the end of 1942. Recalled temporarily in 1943 to give explanations about the conduct of Muzaffar Firuz. Chargé d'Affaires to Greek Court in Cairo, June 1944. Minister to Yugoslavia April 1946.

Speaks French. Married in 1939 a daughter of Muhammad Ali Muqaddam. Polite, friendly and well-meaning, but the head of the Protocol Department under Reza Shah had a thankless task. Nevertheless, M. Furuhar, unlike his colleagues at the Court, survived the ordeal of the Crown Prince's wedding celebrations.

A talkative but somewhat too oily little man.

47. Furuhar, Abul-Qasim

Born in Tehran about 1888. A grandson of Mirza Abbas Khan Qavam-ed-Doleh, who was Minister of Finance for some years. Educated in Tehran

and Switzerland; studied law. A judge in the Tribunal of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1915-21. Chief of Construction at the Tehran Municipality 1921-24. President of the Tribunal 1926-27. Assistant Director of the Registration Department in the Ministry of the Interior 1927-28. Judge in the Appeal Court in 1929. Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Finance under his great friend Davar October 1933. Accompanied the Shah on his State visit to Turkey in June 1934. Minister to France June 1936; but recalled in January owing to an anti-Persian press campaign in some French newspapers. Acting Minister of Interior, July, and Minister, September 1937. Minister of Industry and Mines, March 1938. Minister of Interior, August 1938 to February 1939, when superseded for no stated reason. A Deputy for Tehran in the twelfth Majlis, October 1939, and in the thirteenth Majlis, 1941. Appears to have lost some of his energy, being unwilling to become Minister of the Interior to run the elections in 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and later Minister of Finance in Sa'id's Cabinet, March-August 1944.

Delegate to U.N.O. Assembly, September 1947. Appointed minister to Switzerland 1948. Married to a Bulgarian lady.

48. Furuhar, Ghulam Husain

Born in 1903. Educated at the School of Political Science, Tehran and at Berlin University where he studied economics and law. Entered the Ministry of Justice in 1928 and held various appointments in that Ministry until 1934 when he transferred to the Ministry of Finance. Director-General in the Ministry of Finance in 1940. In 1941 was appointed to Germany to investigate commercial relations between Persia and Germany. After relations with Germany were cut he acted as Economic Counsellor to the Persian Legation in Switzerland. Returned to Persia early 1946 and was appointed Director-General of the Taxation Department of the Ministry of Finance. Minister of Roads and Communications in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinets December 1946 to December 1947.

49. Ghaffari, Hassan Ali (Mu'avin-ud-Dauleh)

Born about 1890, son of the late Mu'avin-ud-Dauleh, a former Minister for Foreign Affairs. Educated in Europe. At one time attaché to the Persian Legation in Brussels and head of the Protocol Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. After the coronation of Reza Shah in 1926, Ghaffari was appointed Grand Master of Ceremonies at the Court, a post he held until March 1929, when he was appointed Political Director-General at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Dismissed November 1929 for permitting publication in the press of the judicial safeguards accorded to foreign subjects after the abolition of extra-territorial privileges, but reinstated a month later owing to his friendship with Teymourtahe, the Minister of Court. Minister at Brussels 1933-36. In 1947 he was appointed first Persian Ambassador to Pakistan.

An agreeable and well-educated man. Speaks French and German fluently.

50. Ghaffari, Amir Seham ud Din (Zuka-ud-Dauleh)

Born in Tehran about 1880. The second son of the late Muhandis-ul-Mamalik. Educated in Persia and Germany. On the staff of the Ministry of Education 1914-18. First Persian representative to League of Nations. Appointed Persian Minister in Berne 1919-22. Did not venture to return to Persia till the Pahlavi régime was well established in 1931. A chamberlain to Muzaffar-ed-Din Shah and Ahmed Shah. Employed in the Ministry of Education 1934, as a professor of economics. Imprisoned 1939 by order of Reza Shah, on an

accusation of having expressed doubts whether the trans-Iranian railway would pay. Sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but kept in prison when his term had been served. Finally obtained release on the fall of Reza Shah in 1941. Director of the Propaganda Section in 1942 and 1943 though he was not very effective in that post and was relieved of his duties early in 1943. Advocated propaganda in favour of religion in order to keep men's minds away from communism.

Minister for Posts and Telegraphs in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946. Left out when the Cabinet was re-formed in August.

Speaks French, German and some English. A very voluble, persistent, tedious little man, with a great idea of his own importance and infallibility. Has a large family of daughters.

51. Ghani, Qasim

Born about 1894 at Sabzevar. Sent to Tehran for education by his uncle, Agha Khazra'i, and studied in the Bahai "Tarbiat" school for four years. Then went to Beirut where he qualified as a doctor after a course lasting about seven years. On return to Tehran stayed a short time and then went back to his native town and practised medicine, founding a hospital and doing many good works. Then went to Meshed, where he married a rich wife. A great student of Persian literature. Elected as a Deputy for Meshed in the 13th Majlis. Minister of Health in Soheily's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Minister of Health in Sa'id's Cabinet of March 1944. Resigned in April 1944. Member of the Persian Farhangistan or Academy.

Member of Persian Delegation to U.N.O. September 1946.

A cultured and widely-read man, reputed to be a Bahai, but that is doubtful. Author of a history of Sufism. Member of Persian Delegation to U.N.O. September 1946.

52. Hajir, Abdul Husain

Born about 1895. The son of one of the "Fida'is" of the early days of the Constitution, who served under Taqizadeh.

In 1930 served under Taqizadeh in the Ministry of Roads and Communications; and in the following year followed that Minister to the Ministry of Finance. Government inspector of the National Bank. A favourite of Davar's, he was given various lucrative posts by him, including the management of the Cloth Monopoly ("Shirkat-i-Qumash") and, most important of all, the direction of the Exchange Control Commission. Relinquished his post at the Exchange Control Commission in the summer of 1937 to proceed to Europe as part of a commission to purchase stocks for the Cloth Monopoly. Head of the Industrial and Agricultural Bank August 1938. Minister of Commerce and Industry March 1942 and Minister of Roads and Communications in Sulaili's Cabinet of February 1943. Showed commendable energy in inspecting communications in person.

Went to England to study transport conditions in June 1943 and was still away at the end of the year; meanwhile in December 1943, on the Cabinet being reshuffled he became Minister of the Interior. Again Minister of the Interior in Sa'id's Cabinet of March 1944, but was dropped when there was a reshuffle of the Cabinet in August 1944. Minister of Finance in Hakimi's Cabinets of May and of November 1945. Again Minister of Finance in Qavam's re-formed Cabinet of August 1946.

Resigned with the whole Cabinet in December 1947. Appointed Minister without Portfolio in March 1948 and subsequently put in charge of the Ministry of Labour. Elected Prime Minister on the fall of Hakimi's Government in June 1948.

A man of conspicuous ability and intelligence. In his early days he was an interpreter and munshi at the Russian Consulate-General. Speaks French, Russian and English; very talkative but has many sound ideas and a shrewd knowledge of his countrymen. Is unmarried.

53. Hakimi, Ibrahim (Hakim-ul-Mulk)

Born in Azerbaijan 1870; studied medicine in France for ten years; speaks French. Was Qajar Court Physician as was his father. Deputy in the first Majlis 1908. Minister of Finance 1910. Minister of Education 1910, 1911. Minister of Finance 1911. Minister of Finance or Education several times up to 1918. Minister of Education 1920. Lived in retirement throughout Reza Shah's reign. Minister without Portfolio in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinets August 1942 and February 1943. Member of the National Bank Advisory Council in 1943, 1944 and 1945, was considered an ancient nonentity, deaf and infirm, but in May 1945 was appointed Prime Minister because all other candidates were opposed by one or other faction in the Majlis. His Cabinet failed to obtain a vote of confidence and resigned a month later. He again became Prime Minister in November 1945 and did his best to deal with the Russian-inspired independence movement in Azerbaijan and had courage enough to refer to the Security Council of U.N.O. the situation created by the Russian refusal to allow the Persian Government to send troops to Tabriz.

In December 1945 wished to go to Moscow for direct negotiations with the Russians but his request was turned down. Exhausted by his efforts and intimidated by the growing hostility of the Shah and the factions in the Majlis, he resigned in January 1946.

Appointed Prime Minister December 1947 after the fall of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. He survived in that office until June 1948, when his Government resigned on failing to obtain a vote of confidence. A respectable old man of rather weak character.

54. Hidayat, Abdullah, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born about 1902, the son of Mukhibir-ud-Douleh (Ghulam Reza Kemal-Hidayat), and so member of a family that has usually been pro-British. Brigadier Hidayat is outwardly friendly; and is intelligent and ambitious but something of an intriguer. Trained at the French Ecole de Guerre, and also at Fontainebleau. Head of the Third Bureau, General Staff, February 1941; at the Staff College, November 1941; Deputy Chief of the General Staff, May 1942; Commandant of the Officers' School, November 1942. Under-Secretary Ministry of War, April 1944. Acting Minister of War, September 1944. Director of Artillery, November 1945. Under-Secretary of War, February 1946. While still retaining this post he left for the United States in March 1947 to negotiate purchases of military supplies under a proposed loan to the Government for this purpose.

A well-qualified serious officer, more staff officer than a commander. Has a good reputation for honesty. When with the General Staff supported Yazdan-Panah in his opposition to a foreign military mission. Belongs to the military clique headed by his friend Razmara. Speaks good French and some English.

55. Hidayat, Izzatullah

Son of the late Sani-ed-Douleh, who was murdered in Tehran during the Constitutional troubles about 1908. Born about 1895. Educated as a civil engineer in Germany. Member of the staff of the Legation at Berlin 1920-23. On the staff of the Ministry of Public Works 1925.

Appointed Chief of Railway Construction about that time. Interested in various engineering projects in Tehran, and in a spinning factory. Director of the port of Pahlavi 1930. Arrested and tried for complicity in the irregularities in the Ministry of Roads and Communications, February 1936; sentenced in the autumn to six months' imprisonment and a fine. Exonerated after the fall of Reza Shah, but not re-employed in Government service. In 1943 engaged in contracting work. Appointed Inspector of Railways, August 1945.

Intelligent, and of charming manners. Speaks French and German. His mother was a daughter of Muzaffar-ed-Din Shah.

56. Hikmat, Ali Asghar

Born about 1894. A member of a Shiraz family and cousin to Mushar-ud-Douleh (Mirza Nizam-ud-Din Khan Hikmat) and Sardar Fakhir (Mirza Reza Khan Hikmat). Educated in the Church Missionary Society School at Shiraz 1908-09. Well read in Arabic. Went to Tehran in 1914, where he entered the American College, graduating in 1917. Joined the Ministry of Public Instruction as an inspector. Appointed Director of Education for Fars about 1920, but kept out of the position owing to intrigues. Candidate for Parliament (the fifth Majlis) in 1923, for Shiraz and also for Jahrum, but was not successful. Employed in the Ministry of Education until about 1930, when he went abroad to Paris to study law. Said to have done well in his examinations. Returned to Tehran in September 1933, to take charge of the Ministry of Education as acting Minister. Raised to the rank of Minister in February 1936. Dismissed, July 1938, owing to the Shah's displeasure about a telegram connected with the Paris Exhibition, but restored to favour as Minister of the Interior, February 1939. Resigned March 1940. Was proposed for Minister, Berlin, but the German Government hesitated about his agreement. When it did come the Shah decided to re-employ him as Minister of the Interior instead, but dismissed him in June 1940.

Minister of Industry and Commerce in Feroughi's Cabinet in 1941, and had a good deal to do with the negotiations about the Tripartite Treaty of 1942. Minister of Health, March 1942. Minister of Justice in Soheily's Cabinet of February 1943, but resigned in July owing to differences of opinion with his chief. Headed cultural missions to India 1944 and again in 1947. Delegate to United Nations Education Conference 1945.

Minister without Portfolio June to September 1947 under Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Delegate to U.N.E.S.C.O. November 1947.

The author of some literary works, he spends some time instructing students in Persian literature at the university.

Speaks English and French well; always very helpful to us.

57. Hikmat Riza (Sardar Fakhir)

Born Shiraz about 1888. Cousin of Ali Asghar Hikmat. During the 1914-18 war was a determined enemy of Qavam-ul-Mulk and friendly with the Qashqais. Since that war settled down in Tehran and was employed in various Government appointments. Governor-General of Kerman 1940-41. Head of the Statistics and Civil Status Office 1942. Elected to the 14th Majlis 1944 for Shiraz. He still enjoys the support and friendship of the Qashqais. Appointed Governor-General, Kirman, June 1946. Is a member of Central Committee of Iran Democrat Party. Elected Deputy for Shiraz in 15th Majlis.

Elected President of the Majlis October 1947. On the fall of Qavam in December 1947 was elected Prime Minister, but failed to form a Cabinet. Leader of the dissident group of Qavam's Democrat Party. Re-elected President of the Majlis April 1948.

A corpulent and polite man, very hospitable, but a man of curious friends.

58. Humayunjah, Muhammad Ali

Born about 1888. A graduate of the Tehran School of Political Science. Judge of the Tribunal of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1922-25. Has held various clerical posts in the Ministry, culminating in that of head of the personnel section 1932-34. Sent as counsellor to Paris in 1935; a post to which he was singularly ill-fitted owing to his scanty knowledge of French.

For some obscure reason, said to be connected with seniority, was made Under-Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in April 1942; in which post he maintained his reputation of benevolent and useless stupidity.

Promoted to personal rank of Ambassador April 1946 and awarded Humayun Medal First Class. Became Minister for Foreign Affairs December 1946.

Dropped by Qavam in June 1947 and subsequently appointed Ambassador to Angora. He left Tehran to take up his new post in June 1948.

A corpulent individual showing few indications of intelligence; his appointment to a foreign post was looked upon as a very good joke in Tehran.

59. Ibtihaj, Abul-Hassan

Second son of Ebtehaj-ul-Mulk, and brother of Ghulam Hussein Ebtehaj. Born at Resht about 1900. Interpreter to the British forces in Gilan towards the end of the war. Entered the service of the Imperial Bank of Persia at Resht about 1920. Did well there, and was transferred to Tehran 1925. Assistant to the chief inspector from then till he resigned in 1936.

Head of the Mortgage Bank 1939. Realised one of his ambitions when he became President of the National Bank of Iran (Banque Mellié) in September 1942. In that post he has worked hard and been of great service to us in many ways.

Delegate to Currency Conference in United States, June 1944. Delegate to Financial Conference, Cairo, 1944. Showed strong hostility to Dr. Millsbaugh in 1944. He seems to be one of the few Persian financiers with intelligence, ability and energy. On the other hand he is hasty, hot-tempered and easily upset, and his persistence in an unwise legal attack on the Imperial Bank of Iran (a suit which he eventually lost) seems to show that he bears that institution a grudge. Pro-British and anti-Russian to such an extent that he is also regarded as a British agent by his numerous political rivals. Sayyid Zia and his supporters, however, were bitterly opposed to him on the Millsbaugh issue. His attitude towards the latter was consistently obstructive.

Married in 1926 Maryam, daughter of Taghi Nabari (Muazziz-ud-Douleh). Both he and his wife speak English, French and Russian well, and are very much in the confidence of the Shah and Princess Ashraf. No children.

60. Ibtihaj, Ghulam Husain

Born at Resht 1898. Eldest son of the late Ebtehaj-ul-Mulk, who was for years in charge of the Gilan estates of Fathullah Akbar. Educated at Resht and completed his studies at Beirut, and for a short time in France. Interpreter to the British Expeditionary Force 1918-20.

His father was assassinated by the Jungalis, and he, together with his family, fled to Tehran when the Bolsheviks occupied Gilan in 1920. Clerk in the Prime Minister's office 1920-21. Secretary

to the Governor of Gilan 1921-22. Transferred to the Ministry of Public Works and assistant to the American adviser, Colonel Morris 1923-28. Dismissed from that post, apparently for dishonesty. Joined the Ulen Company in 1929, when the latter had a contract to construct the railways in the south. Transferred to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1931; first secretary in London April 1932. First secretary in Cairo March 1933. Suspended by the Ministry shortly after, apparently for conduct in London when the d'Arcy Concession was cancelled. In 1934 Chief of Personnel at the Ministry of the Interior; and then director of the Tourist Department and chief of the Touring Club of Iran. Went to Moscow in September 1936 to arrange the transfer of the Russian tourist organisation "Intourist" to his organisation, newly named "IranTour." Assistant to the Chief of the Tehran Municipality October 1937, but returned to the Ministry of Interior in 1938. Director of Administrative Services in the Ministry August 1938. Acting Chief of Tehran Municipality July 1939.

Incurred Reza Shah's displeasure and was relieved of his charge of the Municipality in September 1940. He then joined "IranTour" and also served on the board of the Caspian Fisheries Mixed Administration. Appointed Mayor of Tehran in 1944. A supporter of Sayyid Zia he was actively opposed to all Tudeh party influence in the Municipality. He thus incurred the hostility of all Left-wing elements and in December 1945, Hakimi (then Prime Minister) dismissed him as a gesture of conciliation. In 1942 divorced his Persian wife and married a Polish refugee. In 1946 he became managing director of Iranian Airways.

Author of a widely used guide book to Iran. Speaks English, French and Russian. Clever, not to be trusted very far.

61. Intizam, Abdullah

Born about 1897. Brother of Nasrullah Intizam. Entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs about 1921. In the Press Department 1933-35. Consul at Prague 1936. Chargé d'affaires at Berne 1938. Head of the Third Political Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, April 1941. Secretary at Berne 1942. Appointed, in 1947, to investigate Persian claims against Germany and sent to Stuttgart with the rank of consul-general.

A pleasant and go-ahead person. Speaks English and French.

62. Intizam, Nasrullah

Born about 1899. Son of the late Entezam-us-Saltaneh, and nephew of Hassan Ali Ghaffari. Educated in Tehran at the School of Political Science. Secretary at Paris 1926. Secretary at Warsaw 1927-32. Secretary to the Persian delegates to the League of Nations during the Anglo-Persian Oil Company dispute in 1933. Member of the Persian delegation to the World Economic Conference 1933. Secretary at London May 1933. Transferred to Washington 1934. Has also served in the Treaty Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. First secretary at Berne 1936. "Délégué suppléant" at the League of Nations May 1938. Head of the Third Political Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs (dealing *inter alia* with Great Britain), July 1938. Attended the Duke of Spoleto's wedding in Italy, June 1939.

Master of Ceremonies at the Court in March 1941. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the reconstruction of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet in February 1943, a post which he retained in the following Cabinet of Soheily. Minister of Communications and subsequently of Foreign Affairs in Bayat's Cabinet of November 1944. Resigned in April 1944. Member of the Persian Delegation to San Francisco.

Persian Delegate to Executive Commission of U.N.O. in London with rank of ambassador. Member of Persian Delegation to U.N.O. January 1946 and again in September.

Persian representative on United Nations Palestine Commission June 1947.

Quiet and attractive. Helpful and honest. Speaks French and English.

63. Iqbal, Ali

Born in Meshed about 1895. Son of a well-known landowner of Khorasan, with property at Kashmar and elsewhere in the province. Deputy in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth Majlis for Kishwar. Never in Government service, but well acquainted with Khorasan politics. Aspired to becoming the mutawalli-bashi of the Meshed shrine 1943, but did not succeed owing to the opposition of the Governor-General. An enemy of Soheily, he was a professing supporter of Sayyid Zia-ud-Din when his fortunes were at their height.

64. Iqbal, Manuchihr

Younger brother of Ali Iqbal. Born at Meshed about 1898. Educated at Tehran at the medical school, and then in France, where he qualified as a doctor and received a medal for research. Returned to Persia in 1939 and was employed for some time in the Ministry of Public Health. Under-Secretary of the Ministry 1943, he ran the technical side of the Ministry's work with success. Minister for Health August 1944 (Sa'idi's Cabinet). Enjoys patronage of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Minister for Health in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946 to December 1947. Minister of Education under Hajir June 1948.

Married to a Frenchwoman. Friendly and intelligent he is a good doctor but as a politician has a reputation for laziness.

65. Isfandiari, Asadullah Yamin (Yamin-ul-Mamalik)

Son of the late Yamin-ul-Mamalik and a nephew of Hassan Esfandiari. Born in Tehran 1885. Educated in Tehran and Tiflis. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1901; in 1906 had reached the rank of deputy chief of the Foreign Office Tribunal. Karguzar in Isfahan 1917. Governor of the Gulf Ports 1921-23. Consul-general at Baku 1924-29. Governor of Mazandaran 1930-32. Recalled from that post and under a cloud for some time. Director of the Tehran Telephone Company.

Deputy in the 13th, 14th and 15th Majlis for Babul. Is a director of most of the important companies of the Capital, and finds time to look after the affairs of the Aero-Club as well. Has a typical capitalist and conservative outlook.

66. Isfandiari, Fathullah Nuri

Second son of Hassan Esfandiari (Muhtashim-us-Saltaneh). Born about 1895. Educated in Switzerland and France. Second secretary of the Persian Legation in London 1914-24. Assistant chief of the English Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1925. First secretary at Washington 1926-29. Counsellor at Paris 1929-30. Counsellor in London and Chargé d'Affaires 1930-31, and was in charge at the time of the Persian Exhibition. Chief of the Economics Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1932. Chargé d'Affaires again in London March to December 1933. Head of the Treaty Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1934; served also in the Passport section. For three months from the end of 1935 he was in Baghdad on a mission charged with negotiations over the frontier dispute, but achieved little. "Chef du protocole" May 1936 to December 1937. In charge of the Government-controlled "Iran" Insurance

Company 1938. Appointed Persian Government representative with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company 1942 in London. Minister to Polish Government in London, January 1944. Returned to Persia 1945.

Married to a Frenchwoman; speaks French and English. Conscientious and helpful; an excellent type of permanent official, though he has not inherited the eloquence of his father, much to the latter's disappointment.

67. Isfandiari, Musa Nuri (Muvaffaq us Saltaneh)

Brother of Asadullah Yamin-Esfandiari. Born in Tehran 1894. Educated in Tehran and Europe. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1916. Secretary at Rome for some time. Chief of the Economic Section of the Ministry 1929. Chief of the League of Nations' section 1932. Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires at Paris 1933. Counsellor at Moscow in December 1933, and very soon afterwards transferred to Angora, where he was Chargé d'Affaires for some time. Head of the Consular Department, March 1937. Director-General of Industry and Mines, July 1937. Summarily relieved of that appointment in September owing to a muddle over the Chalus silk factory that was in reality due to his predecessor, Jehanbani. Administrative Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, December 1937. Minister, Baghdad, August 1938. Sent on a special mission to Berlin 1939. Left Berlin on rupture of relations in 1941, and returned to Baghdad as Minister; recalled to Tehran, on conclusion of five years' foreign service, in 1943. Though at first suspected of pro-German feelings, owing to his visit to Berlin, he behaved correctly on his second period of office in Baghdad. Minister of Agriculture in Soheily's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Ambassador to Turkey, 1945.

Minister for Foreign Affairs under Qavam-us-Saltaneh September-December 1947 and again under Hakimi March-June 1948.

Speaks French and Italian. Pleasant, married very early, and has a son who is a champion at lawn-tennis.

68. Iskandari, Abbas

Uncle of Iraj Iskandari. One of the founders of the Tudeh Party, but soon broke away to lead a dissident section. In 1942 became a director of Iran Insurance, in which he made money and went to Egypt 1943-45. Appointed Governor of Tehran in June 1946 and Governor-General a month later, when Tehran was made an independent Ustan. Elected to the 15th Majlis for Hamadan. In August 1947 made a violent attack in the Majlis on Taqizadeh, the former ambassador in London. Repeatedly attacked Hakimi's Government in the first part of 1948 and was foremost in demanding a revision of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's concession and the return of Bahrain to Persia. One of the most outspoken Left-wing Deputies.

69. Iskandari, Iraj

Born 1900. Educated in France as a lawyer. Now practising in Tehran. In 1938 published a philosophical review which was nothing more than disguised Communist propaganda, and in that year was one of a group of young Communists imprisoned by Reza Shah. Member of the editorial board of *Rahbar*, the Tudeh Party organ, of which he owns the licence. On Tudeh Central Committee from August 1944 and secretary-general to the party. Owns large properties and is generally regarded as very wealthy. Deputy for Sari in the 14th Majlis and Minister of Commerce and Industry under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August 1946—dropped in October of the same year. Replaced large numbers of non-Tudeh members of the Ministry with Tudeh sympathisers and members during his tenure of

office. Went to France, January 1947, and is probably being encouraged to stay there for the present.

70. I'ubar, Dr. Abdul Husain

Born about 1910 and was partly educated in Germany. Married a German. In 1943 was head of the Technical and Construction Department in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, a post in which he made large sums of money by the gilding of the Palais de Justice. Elected Deputy for Burujird in the fourteenth Majlis, and in April 1945 was a member of the Persian Delegation to the San Francisco Conference. Head of water department of Tehran Municipality October 1946. Deputy for Burujird in 15th Majlis.

Speaks excellent German, good English and French.

71. I'imadi, Nasir Quli (Nasr-ul-Daulah)

Born about 1886. A Qajar prince, descended from the famous vazir, Mirza Taghi Khan. Occupied various posts in Government service, including Governor of the Gulf Ports in 1923. Sent on an economic mission to Germany in connexion with the settlement of various accounts about 1939. Also held other diplomatic posts in Europe. Returned to Persia 1942, and soon after appointed assistant to the Prime Minister by Soheily, with the rank of Under-Secretary of State. Governor-General of Khorasan, December 1945. Recalled July 1946.

Ambitious and clever, but without much stability. A good bridge player. Speaks French and German.

72. Jahanbani, Amir Lashkar Amanullah, General (Sipahbud)

Born about 1890, son of the late Amanullah Mirza, Zia-ed-Dowleh (a descendant of Fath Ali Shah), who committed suicide in the British consulate in Tabriz, where he had taken refuge from the Russians in 1917.

Amanullah joined the Persian Cossack Artillery School in 1907. In 1910 he was sent to the military school in Moscow, where he graduated in 1913. For the following two years he was attached to the Imperial Guard. In 1916 he entered the Persian Cossack Division with the rank of captain, and was made aide-de-camp to the Russian General Staroselsky, then commanding officer of the Cossack Division. He sided with Reza Khan in the coup d'Etat in 1921, and later distinguished himself in the operations against Simitko, being greatly helped therein by former Tsarist officers attached to his staff. Was made a general, and became chief of the General Staff in 1922. He visited France and England in 1923. Although a Qajar prince, he favoured the change of dynasty in 1925. Removed from his post as Chief of Staff for taking matters too easily, but regained the Royal favour, and was appointed to command the Eastern Division in August 1926. He organised and commanded the expedition for the pacification of Persian Baluchistan in the autumn of 1928, and in November 1928 he was created General of Division (Amir Lashkar) as a reward for his services; in December 1930 went to France to follow a course of two years' training at the Staff College.

Inspector-General of the Army in 1932. Inspector of military schools in 1933. Employed in Baluchistan in 1934 and 1935. In October 1935 fell from favour as the result of remarks made by him criticising certain arrangements for the Senior Officers' Staff College. His eclipse was, however, brief, and he was appointed Director-General of Industry in March 1936. Dismissed in July 1937. The reasons are variously rumoured as friendliness

with foreigners, espionage by his Russian wife, or an explosion which occurred in a powder magazine. Reported in prison in Tehran in July 1939, and in poor health. Liberated 1941 and made Minister of the Interior in September. Minister of Roads and Communications, December 1941. Minister of War, March 1942, and employed in the autumn at court as a kind of aide-de-camp in general to the Shah.

General officer commanding, Fars, September 1943. Commandant, Cadet College, 1946 until November when he went on a tour of training establishments in France and Belgium. On his return in February 1947 he was appointed to the sinecure post of Inspector to the Eastern Forces in the Ministry for War.

First vice-president of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society, March 1945.

He is pleasant and agreeable, though inclined to suffer from swelled head. Intelligent and fairly well educated, he is enthusiastic about sport, which he has done much to encourage in the Persian army; plays polo and tennis moderately well. Fond of European society, easy-going, and somewhat lacking in determination. He does not fleece the populace as do many of his colleagues. He is inclined to imitate westerners, and is ready to accept new ideas and machines without considering their suitability.

Is friendly to Englishmen, but finds Frenchmen and Russians of the former régime more congenial. Useful in doing little jobs with the Soviet Embassy, but gives the impression of being overmuch inclined to subject the present Shah to the same sort of fulsome flattery which turned his father's head.

Speaks Russian and French fluently; has a Russian, as well as at least one Persian, wife.

73. Jahanbani, Muhammed Hussein, Brigadier (Sartip)

Born about 1892, brother of Amanullah Jahanbani. Educated at Tehran and in Russia, and joined the Persian Cossack Division about 1916. Chief of Staff to General Amir Ahmedi in the Luristan operations about 1928. Military Governor of the Boir Ahmedi country shortly afterwards, where he governed with some success. Fell from favour with Reza Shah at the same time as his brother, in 1935. Then served in various capacities at the Ministry of Industry, especially in some purchasing commissions. Director-General at the Ministry of the Interior 1943, being in charge of the arrangements for the elections to the fourteenth Majlis, an occupation which nearly drove him crazy. Chief of Police, February 1944. Head of Road Transport Department in January 1945. Resigned two months later. Under-Secretary in the Ministry of War.

Speaks French, Russian and some English. The author of an anthology of Persian poetry. Said to be very corrupt financially, but is easy to get on with.

74. Jam, Mahmud (Mudir-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1880. Has had a long career in the customs and other Government departments, and was, for more than ten years, Persian secretary to the French Legation in Tehran. Director of the Alimentation Service, Tehran, from 1916 to 1920, where he did good work. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the short-lived Cabinet of Sayyid Zia-ed-Din 1921. Acting Minister of Finance, January 1922, and Minister of Finance October 1923 to August 1924. Appointed as assistant to Prime Minister, Serdar Sipeh, until the latter became provisional head of the State on the 31st October, 1925, and then assistant to the two following Prime Ministers. Appointed Persian Minister to Brussels in 1926, but did not proceed. Appointed Governor

of Kerman Province in September 1927, and Governor-General of Khorassan in April 1928. Recalled from Khorassan in December 1928 and appointed Minister of Public Works. Returned to Khorassan as Governor-General in August 1929. Appointed Minister of the Interior in Ferouhi's Cabinet of 1933, and succeeded him as Prime Minister in December 1935. Headed the mission to Egypt on the Crown Prince's betrothal to Princess Fauzieh, June-July 1938, and received the Order of Muhammad Ali from King Farouk. Minister of Court, October 1939. Ambassador to Egypt 1941. Minister for War September-December 1947. Minister of Court January 1948.

An amiable and pleasant man who speaks French fluently. The embassy, in their dealings with him, have always found him trustworthy and sincere.

75. Kafa'i, Hassan

Son of the late Akhund Mullah Muhammad Kazaim, who was chief mullah at Najaf. Managing director of the Khosrovi Cotton Mill and Electricity Company in Meshed. A clever and unscrupulous business man who has accumulated a large fortune during his four years' association with the Khosrovi Company. Most unpopular. His elder brother is the most influential mullah in Meshed.

76. Kamal Hidayat, Husain Ali (Nasr-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1880, son of the late Mukhbir-ul-Dowleh, K.C.I.E.

He was prominent in the political events associated with the constitutional troubles of 1909-11, and became a member of the second Majlis in 1913. In March 1915 he was appointed Minister of Posts, Telegraphs, Commerce and Public Works, and in that capacity was suspected (in common with his uncle) of pro-German leanings. He held various ministerial posts between 1917 and 1923.

In 1921 he accompanied the then Crown Prince of Persia on a voyage to India and to various European countries.

In 1925 he was appointed Governor-General of Isfahan.

In June 1927 he was appointed Governor-General of Fars, and in December 1927 went to Bagdad as acting consul-general. His tenure of office at Bagdad was not a success; he fell foul of the Residency owing to certain discourteous omissions in his conduct towards the Residency officials.

Thereafter he was unemployed until December 1931, when he was appointed Persian Minister at Tokyo. Recalled to Tehran, July 1934. Appointed Governor of Tehran, November 1935 until December 1938. President of the "Cour des Comptes" or Audit Department 1940, and was Minister of Justice for one day in the short-lived Ferouhi Cabinet of March 1942. Minister of Commerce and Industry in Bayat's Cabinet, November 1944; Minister without portfolio under Hakimi, May 1945; again without portfolio in Sadr's Cabinet, June 1945. Minister of Justice, June 1945. Again Minister without portfolio, November 1945 (Hakimi). Ambassador to Afghanistan, January 1946.

He is a pleasant and intelligent little man. His relations with British consular officers at Isfahan and Shiraz were always cordial and friendly, but he is not a great personality.

77. Kambakhsh, Abdus-Samad

Born 1905, at Kazvin; his father, still alive in 1943, was Ain-ul-Mamalik, a Qajar prince and wealthy landowner at Kazvin. Entered Persian army about 1923; sent to Leningrad for training and became a pilot there; also imbibed the doctrines of communism with enthusiasm. On return was

active Communist and was known as the Persian representative on the Comintern. Sentenced to death by Reza Shah, but was pardoned and then imprisoned with fifty-three other Communists. Exiled in 1940 to Bandar Abbas; released on the fall of Reza in 1941. Elected to the fourteenth Majlis for Kazvin, by help of the Soviet representative. Put in charge of the publicity of the Tudeh Party in August 1944. Generally regarded as one of the more decent Tudeh members. He is believed to be dissatisfied with the complete subservience of his party to Soviet interests. Married to a Persian related to the Kia family who acts as an accoucheuse in Tehran.

78. Kazimi, Baqir (Muazzib-ud-Daulah)

Born about 1887. Educated in the School of Political Science in Tehran. Began his career in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, being first attached to the Russian section, and later employed in the Cabinet of the Ministry. Appointed Chief of Cabinet in 1921. Appointed counsellor to the Persian Legation in Washington in 1925. Sent to Iraq to inspect Persian consulates in 1928. Later in the same year appointed counsellor to the Persian Legation in Kabul, but could only proceed as far as Herat, where he remained as Persian consul-general. Appointed Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Roads and Communications in 1930, and Acting Minister in 1931. Appointed substantive Minister of Roads and Communications in May 1931, but had to resign in February 1932, owing, it is said, to being unable to build roads fast enough for His Majesty the ex-Shah. He was subsequently appointed Persian Minister in Bagdad, towards the end of 1932. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in Ferouhi's Cabinet of September 1933.

Went on official visits to Afghanistan and India November-December 1935, and was the guest of the Viceroy (Lord Willingdon) at Delhi. Resigned March 1936, and unemployed until appointed Governor-General of Eastern Azerbaijan, April 1937. Ambassador, Kabul, July 1938. Ambassador, Angora, October 1939.

Minister of Public Health, December 1941 to March 1942. Then Minister of Finance in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942, but resigned before its fall in circumstances which did him little credit. Appointed to Angora as ambassador in May 1943, but did not proceed; the Turks appear to like him as little as the Iraqis, who have not forgotten how he opposed them in the dispute concerning the Shatt-el-Arab waters. Minister of Education in Sa'ad's reshuffled Cabinet of August 1944. Delegate to U.N.O., January 1946. Minister to Denmark, Norway and Sweden, April 1946.

In January 1948 he was offered, and is reported to have accepted, the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs in Hakimi's Cabinet, but he remained in Stockholm. A man of intelligence and energy.

79. Kazimi, Mustafa (Dabir-ul-Mulk)

Born in Tehran 1891. Brother of Baqir Kazimi. Educated at the School of Political Science, Tehran. Entered the Ministry of Education 1914, and appointed Director of Education at Kerman in 1915. Caused a great deal of trouble to the British forces and the Imperial Bank of Persia during the war of 1914-18. Financial agent at Isfahan 1920-22. In the Ministry of Finance, 1923-25. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice, 1927-28. Chairman of the Caspian Fisheries Committee, 1928-32. Governor-General of Kerman, 1932-33.

Engaged in politics after the fall of Reza Shah; tried to found a new party without success, June 1942. Elected member of the Majlis for Kerman

1943, after vehement protestations of repentance for his anti-British past.

As one of the leaders of the Ittihad-i-Milli fraction in the Majlis, he consistently and strongly opposed the spread of Soviet influence, and right at the end of the fourteenth Majlis he was not afraid to deliver a speech violently critical of the Soviet's breach of the Tripartite Treaty.

80. Kashani (or Kashi), Saiyid Abul-Qasim

Born about 1888. Educated at Kerbela and lived there for many years as a mujtahid. Expelled by the Iraq Government in 1922 for non-co-operation with our policy in that country, and came back to Persia, where he has been ever since. Kept in the background during Reza Shah's reign, but on the latter's abdication in 1941 came back into prominence and achieved a certain popularity partly owing to his reputation as an opponent of Reza Shah. His anti-British bias, a legacy from 1922, led him into intrigues with German agents and in August 1943 he fled from Tehran to avoid arrest. He was arrested by British security authorities in June 1944 and confessed to having helped German agents. Released in August 1945. He nurses a bitter enmity towards the British. Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh July 1946 and released in November.

A prominent political mullah. In June 1948 he instigated demonstrations against Abdul Husain Hajir after the latter had been elected Prime Minister.

81. Khajeh-Nuri, Ghulam Ali (Nizam-us-Saltan)

Son of Amir Noury (Nizam-ud-Dowleh). Member of the Protocol Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for several years, with an interval as secretary at the Legation in Rome in 1935. Visited London in September 1937 on business connected with the printing of bank-notes for the Iranian Government and commissions for the Royal Palace. Chief Inspector in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1946.

Educated partly in Russia, where he learnt ballet-dancing. Speaks French and Russian. Though of decadent appearance, he is helpful and friendly. Aided by his cultivated and charming wife, who is a daughter of Dr. Ali Asghar Naficy, he is hospitable and popular with the Diplomatic Corps.

Has done various services for the Court after the fall of Reza Shah, the latest one being French instructor to the Queen-Mother, whom he admires with an enthusiasm which is no credit to his intelligence. He prefers to be known as Nizam Khajeh-Nuri.

82. Khusruvani, Ahmad, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Was in temporary command of the air force in 1931 during the occasions when General Ahmad Nakhchevan was suspended, and again in 1937 when General Nakhchevan was appointed assistant to the Minister of War. Promoted brigadier (Sartip) and placed in command of the air force, 1939. O.C. Troops, Tabriz, 1942, but returned to be head of the air force at the end of 1944, after he had been expelled by the Russians from Azerbaijan.

Head of the Transport Directorate, Ministry of War, 1946. Deputy Chief of the General Staff, 1947.

Shows commendable energy, but his ideas are out of date.

83. Kishavarz, Faridun, Dr.

Born in 1906. Partly educated in France as a doctor of medicine and formerly practised at Pahlevi, but now runs a large and prosperous children's clinic in Tehran. In 1944 became one of the leading members of the Tudeh Party, of which he is a member of the Central Committee, and since then has been responsible in large measure for the

organisation of the party. Editor of the Tudeh newspaper. Tudeh Deputy for Pahlevi in the 14th Majlis. In December 1945 was invited by the Soviet Government to attend ceremonies held in Tashkend on the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Central Asian Middle East College. Minister for Education under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August 1946, but was dropped in the Cabinet reshuffle of October of the same year. During his tenure of office he succeeded in filling many important posts in the Ministry with Tudeh members and sympathisers. Completely unscrupulous and reported to be a perfect tool for the Russians. An accomplished public speaker.

84. Kooros, Issa (Esau)

Born about 1896. A commissioned officer in the South Persian Rifles during the 1914-18 war. For many years a leading merchant of Tehran, representative of Imperial Chemical Industries, Metropolitan Vickers, &c. Has a branch in London, and his wife and children are in England (1943). Speaks excellent English and is well disposed towards us. Patriotic and of strict integrity. Fell into disgrace under Reza Shah through no fault of his own. Seems inclined to enter politics and stood for the Majlis for Tehran 1943 without success. Vice-President of Tehran Chamber of Commerce since October 1942. Member of Tehran Municipal Council 1943. Member of board of directors of Iranian Airways 1946. Deputy for Tehran in fifteenth Majlis.

Probably, the wealthiest merchant in Tehran.

85. Kupal, Sadiq, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born in Tabriz about 1889. Educated in Persia and Constantinople. Originally an artillery officer; but joined the gendarmerie in 1911. Was with the Turks when they approached Hamadan in 1916. Went to Angora on a congratulatory mission in 1922 and remained there as military attaché, till 1924. On the staff of the G.O.C. North-West Division in 1924. Chief of police in 1929. In temporary command of the air force in 1931. Liaison officer with the Iraq forces in the operations against Jaafar Sultan 1931-32. Head of the Conscription Department 1934. Accompanied the Shah on his journey to Turkey in 1934. Has the Gallipoli star.

Governor of Rezaieh in 1941, but retired thence in a great hurry when the town was threatened with insurrection by Kurds and Assyrians in March 1942. Suspected of complicity in the Zahedy plots. Very intimate with the Turkish Ambassador, 1943. Arrested at the instance of the Allied security authorities September 1943, released May 1945. Director of Military Tribunal, Tehran, February 1946. Appointed Chief of Gendarmerie 1947.

Energetic and loquacious. Has a Turkish wife. Neither studious nor professionally ambitious. Shows some interest in horse racing.

A bovine and brutish appearance gives the clue to his personality.

86. Lankarani, Shaikh Husain

Born about 1890 in Soviet Azerbaijan. Elected Deputy for Ardebil in the fourteenth Majlis. Owed election to Soviet intervention. Without Russian backing would have no influence. Noted Tehran intriguer, mob orator and trouble-maker. In 1943-44 was employed by the Shah to stir up trouble against Sayyid Zia-ud-Din. A typical Akhund, venal and double-faced. Qavam arrested him July 1946, but released him in December.

Arrested, in March 1948, together with his three brothers, in connexion with the murder of the journalist Muhammad Mas'ud. Subsequently released.

87. Malik, Dr. Sa'id (Luqman-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1890 of a well-known Azerbaijan family of doctors. Served as a doctor in the army and the gendarmerie, and retired from military service in the reign of Reza Shah. Minister of Health in 1944 and 1945 under Sa'id, Bayat, and Hakim, and again under Hakim from December 1947 to June 1948. A professor at Tehran University.

88. Mansur, (Rajab) Ali, C.B.E. (Mansur-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1888. Educated in the School of Political Science at Tehran. Began his career in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and was employed in the English section. He subsequently transferred to the Tribunal section, where he rose to be Director of the Civil Court. Appointed Director of the English section in 1917. Appointed Under-Secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1919, and Under-Secretary at the Ministry of the Interior in 1920. Created C.B.E. in 1920. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in April 1927, and held that post until January 1931, when he was made Minister of the Interior. Transferred to the post of Minister of Roads and Communications in January 1933. Arrested in January 1936 on charges of misappropriation and incompetence. Acquitted August 1936. Rehabilitated as Minister of Industry and Mines, August 1938. Selected by Reza Shah for the post of Prime Minister June 1940, it was to him that the joint Russo-British ultimatum was delivered on the 25th August, 1941. As the result of the subsequent events he resigned in September 1941. Governor-General of Khorassan, February 1942, in which post he showed some energy in collecting wheat, though his administration of the funds of the shrine laid him open to various accusations of embezzlement. Recalled from Khorassan in the autumn of 1945. Appointed Governor-General, Azerbaijan, December 1946.

Mansur is believed to have made money out of the sale of promotions while at the Ministry of the Interior. During the time he was employed in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs he was brought into contact very frequently with this legation, and was always found to be friendly and agreeable. A clever man, often in the running for the post of Prime Minister. Speaks French.

89. Marzban, Dr. Ismail (Amin-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1875, at Resht. Studied medicine in France, and has practised as an oculist at Tehran for about the last forty years. Visited London in connexion with the Constitutional movement in 1906. Has had several excursions into politics, having been Minister of Posts and Telegraphs whenever his fellow-citizen, the late Sipahdar, was in power. Owns a little property in Resht, but is not rich, and still practised up to his appointment as Minister of Public Health under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in 1942. He resigned from that post in December 1942. Took a prominent part in supervising the Tehran elections, December 1943. President of the Anti-Narcotic League, January 1944. Minister of Health in Hakim's Cabinet, May 1945. Benevolent and agreeable manner. Speaks French.

90. Mas'ud, Akbar (Sarim-ud-Doulah)

Born 1885. Eighth, and second surviving, son of Mas'ud Mirza Zill-us-Sultan, son of Nasir-ed-Din Shah. Was early recognised as one of the most intelligent of the Zill's fourteen sons, and now has succeeded to the major part of his father's inheritance. Minister of Public Works and Commerce 1915. Minister for Foreign Affairs 1916. Governor of Isfahan in 1917. Minister of Finance in Vusqu-ud-Doulah's Cabinet of 1919; one of the triumvirate who arranged the abortive Anglo-Persian Treaty of

1920; Governor of Kermanshah and Hamadan in November 1920. Governor-General of Fars 1922-23, and again in 1929. Arrested shortly after the fall of Firuz Mirza in 1929, and kept under surveillance near Tehran for several months. Thereafter lived quietly in Tehran till 1932, when he was allowed to return to his vast properties in and around Isfahan.

Killed his own mother at his father's instigation on a point of honour in 1906. He seems to have lived down the odium of this deed. Has been several times to Europe and has visited England. Speaks English and French fluently and is pleasant-mannered, clever and intelligent. The two-fold stigma of being pro-British and a Qajar prevented him coming back to power during the régime of Reza Shah. Since the fall of Reza Shah he has continued aloof from public affairs, though he has kept in touch with what is going on, and has now become the unofficial controller of almost everything in Isfahan. He takes a great pride in his model village at Asgharabad, near Isfahan, and may very easily have a part to play in shaping Persia's future in the next few years. Has one surviving son, and a daughter. A famous hunter.

91. Mas'udi, Abbas

Born in 1895 in Tehran. Educated in Tehran, and for a year in France. A journalist by profession and by nature. Proprietor with his brother, Jamal Massoudi, of one of the two principal vernacular daily papers in Tehran (the *Ittela'at*) and of the French daily paper *Journal de Tehran*. He accompanied the present Shah, when Crown Prince, to Iraq, Syria and Egypt on his wedding tour as press representative, and kept the Tehran press supplied with a stream of accounts of the Prince's doings, in that quasi-religious style that alone was permitted to Persians when speaking of their monarchy. A Deputy in the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth Majlises.

In the thirteenth Majlis came out strongly in opposition to Qavam-us-Saltaneh, being severely beaten by some of his opponents in the riots of the 8th December, 1942. Visited Palestine and Egypt in May-June 1943. Appointed Director of Iran Airways, December 1944. Visited United States in April 1945, as one of several representatives of the Tehran press invited by the American Government. Covered the U.N.O. meetings in London in early 1946 as unofficial representative of the Persian press. Returned from America, August 1947, and took over direction of *Ittela'at*. Elected to fifteenth Majlis for Tehran.

92. Matin-Daftari, Dr. Ahmad

Born in Tehran 1898. A nephew of Dr. Musaddiq, whose daughter he has married. Educated in Tehran, partly at the American College. Entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1918. Persian secretary to the German Legation in Tehran 1920-23. Returned to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1923-27. Joined the Ministry of Justice in 1927 and appointed Attorney-General of the Court of Appeal. Sent to Europe by the Ministry of Justice in 1929 to take up an advanced course of law, during which he studied in Germany, and for a time was sworn in as a judge in a German court. Obtained a degree as doctor of law. Returned to Persia 1931. Director-General of the Ministry of Justice 1932. Acting Minister of Justice when Davar was away at Geneva in 1933. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice 1934. Represented Persia at the International Law Conference held in Berlin in 1935. Minister of Justice 1936. Member of the mission to Egypt for the Crown Prince's marriage February-April 1939. Prime Minister, October 1939.

Reza Shah made him resign in June 1940, and his conduct of the various negotiations which had taken place while he was Prime Minister gave rise to a strong suspicion that he was favouring the Germans. In fact, in the speech which he made to journalists and Majlis Deputies shortly after Matin-Daftari's dismissal, Reza Shah accused him of not reporting fully to the Shah. However, it is difficult to believe this; the Shah being an absolute autocrat, receiving detailed reports from numerous sources, it seems unlikely that any Prime Minister would risk the Royal wrath by suppressing anything. He himself says it was the Shah who ordered him to favour the Germans. Retired into seclusion in June 1940 until two years later. In 1943 was evidently hoping to re-enter the political arena. Arrested as a suspect June 1943, but soon released. Minister without Portfolio in Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946.

Stood unsuccessfully as candidate for Tehran in elections for fifteenth Majlis, but was elected for Khiav. An active member of the Opposition which defeated Qavam-us-Saltaneh in December 1947.

Speaks French and German, and a little English; he has travelled in England. A very hard-working and conscientious official, always very helpful when approached. A good speaker, with a thorough knowledge of local legal administration.

93. Misbah-Fatimi, Ali Naghi

Born about 1898. Related to Imad-es-Saltaneh (Mehdi Fatimi) of the well-known Isfahan family, though not related (he says) to Seifpur Fatimi and his brothers. Has had a career under the Ministry of the Interior, in various posts and inspection duties. Vice-Governor of Isfahan 1925. Governor-General of Khuzistan in 1940 and again in 1943.

Speaks English and French. Gets on well with the authorities of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company with whom he co-operated satisfactorily during the labour troubles of the summer of 1946.

94. Muazid, Mas'ud

Born about 1890. Educated in the School of Political Science at Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and served in certain Russian posts, also Trebizond. A personal friend of Bagher Kazemy, who, when Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1934, appointed Moazed head of the second political section of the Ministry which deals with Russia. Consul-General at Herat in 1937. Head of the Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, November 1937. Counsellor, Angora, November 1938.

Returned to Ministry for Foreign Affairs about 1940 and in 1941 became the head of the Consular and Passport Department.

Persian Government representative at Beirut, January 1944, with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary. Withdrawn end of 1946.

Appointed as Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, March 1948.

A somewhat dried-up individual. Speaks Russian and French.

95. Mudabbir-Nuri, Kazim (Mudabbir-us-Saltaneh)

Born 1894 in Shiraz. In 1912 entered Government service and till 1927 was employed in Government offices in Fars, reaching the rank of Assistant Governor. In 1935 Governor of Yazd; in 1937 of Ardebil; in 1938 of Luristan; and in 1941 of Mazandaran, where he had to cope with the invading Russians in August and September of that year. In May 1943 appointed Governor of Isfahan, and was useful and co-operative in collecting grain, &c. Recalled, 1944. Appointed Governor of Yazd, 1946.

A talkative man, full of bright ideas and a great sense of his own importance.

38311

96. Muqaddam, Hassan, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born about 1890. Commanded at Sauj Bulagh in 1929. General Officer Commanding North-West Division, December 1929. General Officer Commanding Kurdistan Division at Senneh 1936. When in Kurdistan had a reputation for efficiency and energy. Was the undisputed ruler of the province of Kurdistan from 1938 to 1941. General Officer in command of the troops in the West when the Russo-British invasion took place in 1941, and after handing over to the invading forces retired to Tehran.

Being an old friend of Reza Shah he was retained in the army and in June 1942 was made Governor-General of Azerbaijan, on account of his local knowledge and alleged ability to get on with the Russians. However, being himself a landowner in the district he became involved in all sorts of chicanery concerning his wheat, and failed to produce the much-needed grain for Tehran. He was also accused of giving in to the Russians about the election candidates and other matters, and was summoned to Tehran in May and finally dismissed in August 1943; he appears to have resisted for some time the order to report to Tehran; instead of obeying he retired to his estates near Maragheh. Ministry of War Inspector June 1945.

Muqaddam gives the impression of being a clever though cautious old soldier, unable to resist the temptation to make money whenever possible. His daughter is married to Reza Qavam, son of Qavam-ul-Mulk.

97. Musaddiq, Dr. Muhammad (Musaddiq-us-Saltaneh)

Born about 1885; a nephew of Farman Farma. Has studied law in Paris to a certain extent and poses as a jurist. Appointed Governor-General of Fars in 1920. Appointed Minister of Finance in June 1921, and sought and obtained authority from Parliament to purge and reform that Ministry. However, during his six months' tenure of that portfolio he destroyed indiscriminately the good with the bad, and at the end the organisation was worse than before, as he proved himself entirely incapable of making reforms. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in 1922, and in 1923 became Minister for Foreign Affairs for a period of four months. Elected as a Deputy to the fourth, fifth, and sixth terms of the Majlis from Tehran. Owing to his opposition to the Government in the sixth term, steps were taken to prevent his election to the seventh Majlis.

Imprisoned and otherwise ill-treated by Reza Shah, he spent the last few years of Reza's reign in a village near Tehran. Headed the poll in the Tehran elections in 1944. Tried unsuccessfully to unseat Sayyid Zia.

Sponsored the Oil Law of December 1944 prohibiting the grant of any oil concession until after the departure of all foreign troops from Persia. Made a determined effort to be re-elected to fifteenth Majlis but though he obtained a large number of votes, was defeated by the candidates of the Iran Democrat Party. A demagogue, a windbag.

98. Musavizadah, Ali Akbar

President of Provincial High Court of Ustans 1 and 2 in May 1942. Was suspected of pro-Axis activities in World War II and was interned by the British and released in July 1945. Was not a prominent fifth columnist and is said, by the Minister of War, to bear the British no ill-will for having been interned. Member of delegation under Muzaffar Firuz which went to Tabriz in 1946 to announce agreement between Central Government and Democrats. Member of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Democrat Party of Iran 1946. Member of

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Elections Supervisory Council 1946. Appointed Governor-General of Tehran in October 1946, but did not take up the appointment owing to his inclusion in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of October 1946 as Minister of Justice.

Dropped from Cabinet in June 1947 and appointed Governor-General of Tehran. Relieved of this appointment in January 1948.

99. Mutamidi, Ali

Born about 1897. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs about 1919. Served abroad as secretary at various posts; Chargé d'Affaires at Rome in 1933. Head of the Third Political Department of the Ministry (which dealt with British affairs) in 1934 and 1935. Transferred to direct the First Political Department, June 1936. Hard-working and intelligent; a good type of the younger school, who showed himself reasonable and conscientious in dealing with our affairs in the Ministry. Head of the Department of Registration of Land and Documents under the Ministry of Justice, March 1938. When the Minister of Justice (Matin-Daftary) was made Prime Minister in October 1939, he took Mutamidi with him as Private Secretary.

Married the sister of Ghulam Ali Khajeh-Noury. Private Secretary to the Prime Minister in Soheily's Cabinet of 1942, and became Minister of Posts and Telegraphs for a few days at the end of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet, February 1943. Has also been in charge of the Road Transport Board in 1942 and 1943. Appointed Consul-General at Delhi July 1943. Member of Advisory Council of Anglo-Persian Institute, 1943.

Became first Persian Ambassador to India in the autumn of 1947. Appointed to Hakimi's Cabinet in January 1948 as Minister of Communications, but did not accept office.

Honest. Speaks French, Italian and a little English.

100. Nabavi, Taqi (Muazziz-ed-Douleh)

Born in Tehran 1882. Joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1899. Consul at Batoum 1908, Consul at Ashkabad 1910. Karguzar at Meshed in 1912. Consul-general at Tiflis 1919-21. Has served as consul-general in India. Minister for Foreign Affairs for two months in Seyyid Zia's Cabinet of 1921. Consul-general in Syria 1930. Minister in Iraq 1931-32. Appointed president of the Iran-Soviet Caspian Sea Fisheries Company, 1935. Minister at Brussels, August 1937. Recalled August 1938.

Head of the Caspian Fisheries Board again 1940. A difficult post which he held with some success, as he knows Russian well and was often able to frustrate, by a little diplomacy, the Russian plans to gain complete control of that undertaking. Minister at Lisbon, October 1944.

A corpulent little man, speaking French, Russian and English. Was well in with Teymourache, but survived the latter's fall. Suspected of making irregular use of customs privilege while employed abroad. Quite a well-disposed person, though not exceedingly intelligent.

101. Nafisi, Hassan (Musharaf-ul-Douleh)

Third son of the late Dr. Nazem-ul-Atibba. Born in Tehran 1896. Educated in Persia and went to France in 1909, where he graduated from the Lycée Henri IV. Returned to Persia in 1914 and joined the Ministry of Finance. On the staff of that Ministry till 1921, when he was appointed Director of the Inspection Department of the Tehran Municipality. Left for France in 1922, where he studied law for two years. Obtained the

degree of doctor of law from the University of Paris, and the diploma of the School of Political Science. Returned to the Ministry of Finance for two years in 1925. Assistant to the procureur général of the Court of Appeal in 1927, and in 1929 president of the Tribunal of Commerce. Joined the staff of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company as legal adviser in 1928. Visited London 1929. Left the company's service in 1930, and set up private practice as an advocate in 1930; but remained the company's lawyer. Has one of the best legal practices in Tehran. Visited London again in 1933 and 1935.

Minister of Finance in Feroughi's Cabinet 1941, and did good work in the difficult task of reconstructing the country's finances on a new basis. Resigned with that Cabinet early in 1942. Persian Government representative to International Bank in 1946. Appointed Financial Adviser to the Prime Minister under Qavam-us-Saltaneh, autumn 1947. Post abolished in January 1948.

Married the daughter of Amin-ed-Douleh in 1931. Speaks English and French. A very sensible man, with a sound knowledge of local and French law; has been very helpful on many occasions to this embassy on legal points.

102. Nafisi, Said

Second son of the late Dr. Nazem-ul-Atibba. Born in Tehran 1893. Educated in Persia and later in France. Returned to Persia in 1911, and was employed in the Ministry of the Interior. Transferred to the Ministry of Public Works in 1916, where he held different posts till 1927. Since then has been professor of the Persian language and literature in various schools. Has also done a good deal of journalism for the *Ittila'at*, the *Journal de Téhéran* and other newspapers. Has also been active in promoting the first Persian cinema film. Has a great reputation as a prose writer. Author of a life of the poet Rudaki, and of a French-Persian dictionary. Published some violently anti-British articles in the local press when the D'Arcy Concession was cancelled. Has a certain knowledge of the Pahlavi language. A member of the Iranian Academy (Farhangistan). A scholar of sorts and an active propagandist of pro-Russian views. Visited Moscow in autumn of 1945.

Prominent in the Soviet-Iranian Cultural Society.

103. Najm, Abul-Qasim

Born in Tehran 1893. Son of the late Najm-ul-Mulk, a noted astronomer.

Educated at the School for Political Science at Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1911. Chief accountant at the Ministry 1920-24, and again from 1926-28. Transferred to the Ministry of Finance, and appointed Director-General there in 1930. Under-Secretary to that Ministry in 1933. In November of that year appointed Minister to Germany. Minister in Tokyo early 1940; recalled on rupture of relations 1942. Said to have expressed admiration for Japanese methods. Ambassador at Kabul 1943-45.

His Majesty's Minister, Kabul, reported that he was friendly but ineffective, his co-operation with His Majesty's Legation being adequate but no more. Understands English tolerably well. Minister in the short-lived Hakimi Government in the summer of 1945 but had not left Kabul when that Government fell. Minister for Foreign Affairs in Hakimi's Cabinet of November 1945. He did his best to deal with the Azerbaijan crisis but the difficulties were too great for him.

Minister of Finance in Hakimi's Cabinet, December 1947-June 1948.

104. Nakhai Muhammad

Born about 1902. Educated in Persia; speaks French.

Secretary of the Persian Legation in Brussels from 1928 for some years, and then remained in Belgium teaching Persian. Also studied law, and eventually returned to Persia to join the National Bank as head of its legal department. Later transferred to the Ministry of Finance as private secretary to the Minister (General Amirhosrovi). 1941 became president of the Exchange Commission. At the end of 1943 private secretary to the Prime Minister (Soheily). Has visited England, and his thesis for his doctorate was a dissertation on *Le Pétrole en Iran*.

Has rank of Director-General. In autumn 1943 helped to organise Government Employees' and Tenants' Association. President of Association of Iranian graduates of Belgian Universities.

Minister of Commerce in Sa'id's reconstituted Cabinet of August 1944.

Minister of Agriculture in Sadr's Government in 1945.

Capable, intelligent and well-disposed towards us. Brother of Dr. Hussein Quds. Brother-in-law of Najm.

105. Nakhchevan, Ahmad, Major-General (Sarlash-gar)

Born at Tehran about 1893. The son of an emigrant from Nakhchevan, in the Caucasus. Educated in Persia and France. Entered the Cossack Division School in 1910. Commissioned in the cavalry in 1913. From 1913 to 1920 served in Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Gilan. At Kazvin in 1920 he became a supporter of Reza Shah and joined him for the *coup d'Etat*. In 1922 sent to France for a three years' course in flying. In returning to Persia in 1926 he flew all the way from Paris to Tehran. Director of the Air Force in 1927. Suspended from duty and reinstated three times during 1930-32. Commanded the air force again from 1933 to the end of 1936. Was considered the best Persian pilot. Employed in the Ministry of War early in 1937. Under-Secretary for War in 1938, and virtually Minister, owing to prolonged vacancy in that appointment. Acting Minister of War throughout the latter part of 1938 and the whole of 1939 and 1940. Imprisoned and nearly executed by Reza Shah in a fit of rage during the attack on Persia in September 1941. Minister for War in Feroughi's Cabinet 1941-42. Not employed in official posts since then; he has had trouble with one eye. Proposed as Military Attaché in London but did not proceed. Appointed Head of the Air Force in the early summer of 1944. Paid a formal visit to United Kingdom in November 1944 in connexion with scheme to train the Persian Air Force on Hurricanes, but was promptly replaced by another officer. Subsequently visited America. Appointed Inspector-General of Army in 1945. Transferred General Staff April 1946.

Speaks French and Russian. A gambler, not very interested in politics. A patriotic and fairly dependable person, well-disposed to us and honest.

106. Nakhchevan, Muhammad (Amir Muwassaq), General (Sipahbud)

Born at Tehran about 1882. His father was an officer in the Cossack Brigade. Educated partly in the Russian Military School at Tiflis. On his return to Persia he joined the Cossack Brigade. Director of the Military Academy at Tehran in

1922, as a reward for loyalty to Reza Shah; he had previously been engaged in the fighting in Gilan with the Bolsheviks and Kuchik Khan. In 1928 appointed Acting Chief of the General Staff. Acting Minister of War in August 1934; attained the rank of Amir Lashkar in 1935. Relieved of his functions as Acting Minister in April 1936. Head of the Persian Staff College, 1942.

An exceedingly stupid, fat man, who appears to owe his high appointments to a habit of carrying out orders with no comment; never holding any opinion of his own, he never went far wrong, and finally fell simply from the fact that his stupidity got on his royal master's nerves. Speaks Russian, French and a little English.

107. Nasr, Sayyid'Ali

Born Tehran about 1890, of a well-known family of Seyyids, one of whom was assassinated while serving in the Finance Ministry in 1924. A Government servant whose career has been mostly in the Finance Department, under which he has served in Khuzistan and on various inspection duties. Ministry of the Interior as Assistant, 1943, and was in charge of the Ministry on the departure of Tadayyun in December 1943. Appointed Minister to China, January 1944. Promoted Ambassador when status of Legation was changed to that of an Embassy in February 1945. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs under Qavam, June-September 1947.

One of the moving spirits in the Persian repertory theatre at Tehran; in his youth he was an actor, and has translated and adapted for the Persian stage a number of foreign plays, including those of Molière. Speaks French.

108. Nikpay, I'zaz (Azizullah)

Born in 1896. Educated by the Church Missionary Society at Isfahan and at the American College in Tehran. Speaks English and French. Started his career in the Ministry of Finance. Director of a large and important mill in Isfahan. Governor of Kermanshah in 1940-41. Represented factory owners at International Labour Conference in Paris, October 1945. Governor-General of Kermanshah May 1946 when he set himself almost unreservedly the task of promoting Government interests in face of increasing Tudeh displeasure. Until the time of his recall to Tehran, he resolutely pursued his policy of strengthening Right-wing opposition to the Tudeh and where unsurmountable opposition was not encountered, he directed local affairs with exemplary efficiency. Political Under-Secretary and Assistant to the Prime Minister, Qavam-us-Saltaneh, in July 1946; granted Ministerial rank September 1946 and Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in October 1946. Resigned December 1946 to become a candidate for Isfahan in the elections for the fifteenth Majlis: was elected and thereafter reappointed Minister. Dropped from the Cabinet in June 1947.

A zealous administrator and frankly pro-British. Pleasant-spoken and intelligent. An intriguer, not entirely honest, but thrifty and capable. Appears to be enlightened on matters regarding relations of employer and employee.

109. Nurzad, Ghulam Reza

Born in Tehran about 1880. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1905 and held different posts in various consulates in Russia. First secretary of the Embassy at Moscow in 1922. Counsellor there in 1924, and later Chargé d'Affaires. Chief of a

section at the Ministry 1929. Consul-general at Delhi 1933. Head of the Consular Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, November 1938.

Consul-general at Stamboul, May 1941. Recalled July 1943 and appointed head of the International Relations Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, November 1943. Transferred to the Court 1944. On Committee of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society, 1944.

Speaks French and Russian, as well as a certain amount of English. A rather long-winded person, but quite harmless.

110. Pahlavi, Shah Muhammad Riza

The eldest son of Riza Shah by the daughter of Teymour Khan; this lady was the ex-Shah's chief consort and was known as the "Malikeh."

Born on 26th October, 1919, and proclaimed Vali-ahd, or heir-apparent on 1st January, 1926. Educated in Tehran under tutors at first, and then in Switzerland at La Rosey, under the direction of Dr. Muadab Nafisi. Returned to Persia in the spring of 1936. Extremely keen on football and other sports. Speaks excellent French and good English.

Betrothed in June 1938 and married Princess Fauzieh, sister of King Farouk of Egypt, at Cairo on 15th March, 1939. The marriage was preceded by a very pompous journey through Iraq, Syria and Egypt. The principal wedding festivities took place in Tehran in April, on the couple's arrival, and were attended by delegations from many countries, including the Earl of Athlone and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice, the Duke of Spoleto and General Weygand. The only offspring so far is one daughter, Shahnaz, born in 1940. Queen Fauzieh has been living in Egypt since 1943 and seems unlikely to return to Persia.

Muhammad Riza succeeded to the throne, on the abdication of his father, in September 1941. He is determined to interpret literally the provision of the Constitution which says that the Shah is the commander of the armed forces, and has hitherto delegated little if any responsibility in army matters to the Minister for War. As yet he has no male heir and he has not yet declared any of his brothers to be "Vali-ahd" or next in succession to the throne.

His attitude in the riots of 8th December, 1942, and in the reshuffle of Suhaili's Cabinet in December 1943 showed him to be on the one hand prone to listen to the advice of worthless subordinates, and on the other hand determined to emulate his father and (in the reported words of Stalin to him at the Tehran Conference in November-December 1943) "be a King in fact as well as in name." His admiration for his father, and the influence of his bitterly anti-British mother, must both tend to make him believe the theory which his mother instils into him, that the British expelled Reza Shah, whereas in actual fact the latter abdicated at the advance of Russian troops on Tehran.

He has become a good amateur pilot and is a skilled horseman.

At heart he distrusts Qavam-us-Saltaneh and has had a number of serious differences with him since he became Prime Minister in 1946. In the latter part of 1946 and early months of 1947 the Shah's popularity steadily increased.

He encouraged the Opposition to Qavam when the 15th Majlis assembled and it was mainly for this reason that Qavam was defeated in December 1947.

He has intelligence, courage and a capacity for intrigue. In public utterances and official interviews he is plausible but he has no discrimination in the choice of his advisers and tends to take the advice of the last person he sees.

111. Pahlavi Royal Family

The following are recognised members of the Pahlavi Royal Family:—

Sons—

(1) Shahpur Ali Riza

Born 1st March, 1922. He was sent away from Persia soon after his father's abdication in 1941 and remained abroad, nominally completing his education, until February 1948 when he returned unexpectedly to Tehran. During his absence he married a French woman, but the marriage has not been officially recognised. He is reported to be a man of violent character and to have inherited much of his father's temperament.

(2) Shahpur Ghulam Riza

Born 18th April, 1923. He was married in January 1948 to Homa A'lam, daughter of Dr. A'lam and granddaughter of Vusssuq-ud-Dauleh. Made a second lieutenant in the army in 1947 after passing out from the Officers' Training College in Tehran. Has, apparently, an amiable disposition.

(3) Shahpur Abdul Riza

Born 19th August, 1924. He returned to Tehran in January 1948 after several years at Harvard University. He has made a good impression on those who have met him.

(4) Shahpur Ahmad Riza

Born 17th September, 1925. Mentally not normal. Married to Simin Bahrami of Tehran.

(5) Shahpur Mahmud Riza

Born 3rd October, 1926. Present whereabouts unknown, but probably in the United States.

(6) Shahpur Hamid Riza

Born 4th July, 1932. He is at school in the United States. An unruly boy, who has three times run away from school.

Daughters—

(1) Shadukht (Princess), (Shams-al-Mulk)

Born 18th October, 1917. Married first Faridun, son of Mahmud Jam; one daughter; divorced; second, Muhammad Pahlbud, a man of low origin.

The Princess is president of the Red Lion and Sun Society. Has travelled in the United States.

(2) Shahdukht (Ashraf-al-Mulk)

Born 24th October, 1919, a twin sister of the Shah. Married, first, 1937, Ali Qavam, son of Qavam-al-Mulk, divorced 1942; one son, Shah-Ram; second, Ahmad Shafiq, an Egyptian of good family, who for some time has been Director of Civil Aviation.

The Princess visited Moscow in 1946 and the United States and United Kingdom in 1947 to study social welfare organisations.

(3) Shahdukht Fatima

Born about 1929. At school in the United States. Of the above, the following are the offspring of Riza Shah's first wife:—

Princess Shams.

Princess Ashraf.

Prince Ali Riza.

Riza Shah's second wife was Malikah Turan, who was of Qajar stock on her father's side. She bore Ghulam Riza, but was divorced after three months. (In 1942 she married an obscure merchant in Tehran named Malikpur.)

Riza Shah's third wife was Ismat-al-Mulk, a Qajar Princess of the Daulatshahi family. She bore him four sons and a daughter, i.e.,

Prince Abdul Riza.

Prince Ahmad Riza.

Prince Mahmud Riza.

Prince Hamid Riza.

Princess Fatima.

112. Pakravan, Fathullah (Amir-i-Arfa')

Born about 1885. First became known as a member of the second Majlis, where it appears that he was the laughing-stock of his colleagues. In 1910 he obtained the appointment of Persian Consul-General in Constantinople. From Constantinople he went to Egypt as consul-general, and later became Persian Minister there until he returned to Tehran early in 1925. In 1925 he was appointed Director of the Russian and Turkish section in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Appointed Persian Minister in Rome in December 1928. Appointed Persian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. in February 1931. Was accredited also to Finland and Estonia as Minister in 1932. Recalled from Moscow in February 1934. Appointed Governor-General of Khorassan November 1934. Recalled and brought to Tehran under arrest on various charges of peculation and irregular conduct in February 1942 but was released without trial. Appointed ambassador to Italy late 1945. Left to take up appointment May 1946.

Speaks French fluently. Has a Russian wife who speaks fluent English.

113. Pirnazar, Hassan

Born in Tehran about 1895. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1920. First secretary in Cairo 1925. Chargé d'affaires in Cairo 1930. Returned to Persia 1931. Consul at Bombay 1932. Consul-general at Baku 1935. Head of the Economic Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1941. Promoted Director-General 1943. Accompanied Qavam-us-Saltaneh to Moscow February 1946. Appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs January 1948.

Speaks French and some English. Seems a conscientious official.

114. Pishavari, Mir Jafar

Born in Tabriz 1894 but is little known there, having spent most of his life in Tehran and elsewhere. Was imprisoned in Tehran as a Bolshevik in the time of Reza Shah. Edited Left-wing newspaper *Ajir* and in 1944 went to Tabriz for the elections for the 14th Majlis and his candidature was supported in every possible way by the Russians but his credentials were subsequently rejected by the Majlis. Founded the "Demokrat" party in Tabriz in September 1945 and was elected "Prime Minister" of the autonomous Azerbaijan "Government" in December 1945. In this capacity came to Tehran in April 1946 to negotiate with the Central Government about the future of the autonomous republic which has been created in Azerbaijan. Fled to Russia when Persian troops entered Azerbaijan in 1946.

Reported to have been killed in a motor accident at Baku in August 1947, but his name has subsequently appeared in connexion with alarmist rumours of an impending Soviet invasion of Azerbaijan.

115. Purvali, Abul-Qasim

Born in Tehran about 1896. Educated in Tehran at the School of Political Science. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1921. A judge in the Foreign Office Tribunal from 1922 to 1924. Second secretary at Brussels 1925-27. First secretary at Rome 1927-30. Transferred to the Department of Commerce in 1931, and employed there as chief of the Import Permits section. In 1933 chief of the Passport and Nationality section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In 1934 appointed counsellor at Berlin. Consul-general, Hamburg, 1938. Head of Personnel Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, April 1939.

Head of the second section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which deals with Iraq and Turkey, 1942. Minister at Berne 1944-48.

Married to a German lady.

Speaks French. A voluble little man, who has a great idea of his own importance, and has never gone out of his way to give us any help.

116. Qadimi, Dr. Husain

Born in Tehran 1895. The second son of the late Asadullah Ghadimi, Mushar-es-Saltaneh. Educated in France, and holds a doctor's degree. Attaché at Paris 1918-21. Married to a French lady. At the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1922-23. Secretary at Berne and for the League of Nations 1924-28. Chief of the League of Nations and Treaty Section of the Ministry 1929-32. Chargé d'affaires at Stockholm 1932. Counsellor at Berne 1936. Director of the League of Nations Section of the Advisory Department of the Ministry, 1937, and of the League of Nations Department, when that section was raised to a department in September 1938. Minister at Berne 1941-44. Consul at Quetta since 1944.

Speaks perfect French. A very efficient man at his job.

117. Qajar, Abul Fath (Salar-ud-Daulah)

Born the 1st November, 1881, the third son of Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah. Governor of Kermanshah in 1897; of Zinjan in 1899 and 1900, and of Arabistan from 1901 to 1904, where he married the daughter of a local chief. Fled from Tehran to Luristan in April 1904, but was brought back and appointed Governor of Kurdistan in 1905.

Collected tribesmen from Luristan and rebelled against Muhammad Ali Shah in June 1907. A fight occurred in that month between his followers and the Shah's troops outside Nihavend. He was defeated and took refuge at the British consulate at Kermanshah, but was handed over to the Persian authorities under a promise of personal safety. Thereafter he was placed under surveillance and was considered mentally deranged. Expelled to Europe after *coup d'Etat* of 1908.

Entered Persia again in May 1911 from the direction of Bagdad. In the following July he seized the capital of Kurdistan and advanced on Kermanshah. Having arrived there he collected a large force of Lurs, including the Kalhur tribe, and marched on Tehran via Sultanabad. Bakhtiari and Armenian irregulars were sent against him and inflicted a severe defeat on him near Nubaran in September 1911. He then retreated to Luristan and was again defeated in November 1911.

After some further adventures he was persuaded to leave Persia with a pension from the Persian Government and resided in Switzerland till 1918. In that year he formed a project to enter Persia through Transcaucasia and raise a revolt in the Asterabad district. He was caught by a British detachment in about December 1918 before crossing the Persian frontier, and was sent via Kazvin to Bagdad where he was interned till the following autumn, when he was again allowed to return to Switzerland.

He slipped over the Iraq-Persian frontier in June 1926 somehow avoiding the Iraq police authorities. His presence caused considerable embarrassment to the new Pahlavi Government who realised that Salar, however mad, was a possible rallying point for the forces of reaction. However, after fruitless negotiations with various Kurdish chiefs, during which he contracted marriage with the daughters of some of them, he left Persia in the autumn of 1926. The Persian Government from that date paid him a subsidy of 1,500 rials per month from secret funds up to September 1933. Salar was

persuaded to settle down at Haifa after having given an ambiguous promise to behave himself. On the cessation of his subsidy in 1933 he was informed by British authorities that he was free to do what he liked. Since then he has been living at Alexandria and has not attempted to return to Persia after Reza Shah's fall; but his two sons, who have been living in penury at Tehran for many years, are trying to get back some of the family properties.

118. Qaraguzlu, Ali Riza (Baha-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1880. Owns property at Hamadan, and is a cousin of the late Nasir-ul-Mulk. Has lived in Europe for a number of years and is a graduate of the School of Political Sciences of Paris. Elected to the fourth Majlis as member for Hamadan. Appointed Minister of Finance in 1923, though he had held no Government office before. Resigned in April 1923, as he found that he was controlled by Dr. Millspaugh, President of the Government Supervisory Board of the National Bank of Persia 1929-32.

Minister of Justice in Qavam-es-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942; resigned in the following January without having accomplished anything valuable. An honest politician, but much too old to learn anything new or useful. Lives in Tehran; used frequently to visit Paris. A queer and eccentric man, with a reputation for honesty.

119. Qaraguzlu, Husain Ali

Second and younger son of the late Nasir-ul-Mulk, Regent of Persia. Born in 1900. Educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford. Married the daughter of Teymourache in 1931; and divorced her in 1935. An attaché at the Legation in London 1931. In the same capacity at Paris 1932. Returned to Tehran at the end of that year, and since employed in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, at first in the Treaty Department, and from the end of 1936 in the Protocol Department. Transferred to the Ministry of Interior at the end of 1937.

Resigned from Government service in 1938 and took to chicken farming. After the fall of Reza Shah was not employed in Government service until he became secretary to Dr. Millspaugh at the end of 1942; and in May 1943 was employed at Court, his brother-in-law, Ala, being Minister of Court.

Charming but ineffective; his failure to fulfil his early promise has been a disappointment, but a believer in Anglo-Persian co-operation. An idealist with a certain intelligence and a reputation for honesty.

Speaks perfect English and French.

120. Nizam-Qaraguzlu, Husain Quli (Amir Nizam)

Born in 1883, the eldest son of the late Amir Nizam. A member of the Qaraguzlu family of Hamadan and a nephew of the late Regent, Nasir-ul-Mulk. Educated in England and Austria. Passed through the Military Academy at Vienna, and served with a commission in an Austrian infantry regiment for three years. Inherited large estates from his father in the district of Hamadan, but owing to his absence in Europe from 1921 to 1929 these estates have been allowed to deteriorate. Was appointed Governor of Kermanshah by Vossuq in 1919, where he was very popular on account of his honesty and integrity. Being a rich man he was imprisoned at the time of the *coup d'Etat* in 1921, and made to pay 20,000 tomans as the price of his release. He was so disgusted at this unmerited treatment that he left Persia and vowed never to return. During his stay in Europe he lost heavily at Monte Carlo and Deauville. Teymourache met him in

Europe in 1928, and persuaded him to return to Persia, which he did in 1929. Appointed Grand Master of Ceremonies at the Court in March 1929. Sent to Europe on private business for the Shah in March 1930 and returned at the end of December.

A reputation for honesty saved him from sharing his friend Teymourache's fall. Grand Master of Court Ceremonies (Foreign) 1938. Dismissed owing to royal irritability during the Crown Prince's wedding celebrations in April 1939, and retired to his estate at Kabud-Rahang, near Hamadan.

An extremely agreeable and likeable man, with more than a veneer of European culture. Is the best type of educated Persian, and is noted for his honesty and integrity. Speaks fluently French, German and English.

Is tremendously rich with ample investments abroad. Devotes much time and energy to improving the lot of his peasants. Obstinate, but great force of character and personality. Has great influence in Hamadan area where he is looked on as experienced, wise and good. Honest, hard working and pro-British. In June 1945 bequeathed all his lands to his peasants and distributed copies of the will among them. Appointed the British Embassy and the Imperial Bank of Iran as two of the executors.

121. Qashqai, Khusru

Born 1921. Youngest son of the late Isma'il Qashqai (Saulat-ud-Dauleh). Was appointed Governor of Firuzabad in November 1943, but preferred making frequent trips to Tehran to living at his post. Made large sums of money by selling monopoly goods destined for the tribes at an enormous profit in the open market. Elected to 15th Majlis. Went to Europe, December 1947.

The reprobate of the family, he has great personal bravery and recklessness. Inherits his father's cruelty and sadism, and is credited with a number of reckless killings. Has personal charm, considerable powers of persuasion, and a boundless capacity for making mischief. Is generally described as a "child," which is intended by some to excuse his excesses and by others to mean that it is time he grew up.

122. Qashqai, Malik Mansur

Born 1907. Third son of the late Saulat-ud-Dauleh. Studied at Brasenose College, Oxford. Of hawk-like appearance and attractive personality, he talks much but slowly and tends to repeat himself. Speaks good English and German and a little French, Turkish and Turki. Reported to be loved by the tribespeople, where Nasir is feared. Devoted to tribal pursuits of hunting and riding. Says that he will do his utmost to oppose any Government interference with the tribe and that he is prepared to fight the army.

123. Qashqai, Muhammad Hussain

Born about 1905. Second son of the late Saulat-ud-Dauleh. Studied at Reading University but left because of chronic asthma. Studied economics at Berlin University. Deputy in 14th and 15th Majlis for Abadeh. A voluble speaker. Excitable and untrustworthy.

124. Qashqai, Muhammad Nasir

Born 1904. The eldest son of the late Saulat-ud-Dauleh. Elected to the eighth Majlis as a member of the Qashqai. Ilkhani and the most influential chieftain of his tribe for a short time during 1930. Deprived of parliamentary immunity and arrested for conspiracy in 1932. Fled from Tehran during the general disorder in September 1941 and recovered his old position in Fars where

he is now the accepted but not entirely undisputed leader of the Qashqai. Is the only one of the four brothers who is married. Does not smoke or drink and is a model family man. Tall, broadly built, staring eyes, slight smallpox marks on face, of commanding presence. A fast talker and a good raconteur. Fond of town society and, when living in civilised surroundings, is very reasonable and amenable. When living with the tribes he seems to lose his balance (where matters outside the parochial affairs of the tribes are concerned) and to be easily misled. This instability probably results from his varied earlier experiences including imprisonment in Tehran with his father who died in captivity.

Until the summer of 1945, when he eventually screwed up courage to come to Tehran, he seems to have been generally in fear of re-imprisonment. His anxiety to consolidate his position leads him, at the prompting of others, to see in himself a future Governor-General of Fars, Prime Minister and even Shah of Persia.

Speaks a little English and understands much. He had two Germans with him in 1943 and made a landing ground, intended for German aeroplanes, near Farrashband. He rebelled in 1943 and was attacked by troops under General Shabbakhti but the operations were very half-hearted and soon fizzled out. In April 1944 he handed over the Germans who had taken refuge with him and undertook to co-operate with the Allies. Was a leader of a tribal revolt in Fars in summer of 1946 in which his brothers also took part. After some fighting the Qashqais came to an understanding with the Government and peace was restored. Elected to 15th Majlis but did not take his seat.

125. Qavam, Ibrahim (Qavam-ul-Mulk)

Born 1888. The son of Murza Habibullah Khan Qavam-ul-Mulk, who was killed accidentally in May 1916. During the war of 1914-18 was very friendly to us, and carried on his father's traditional policy of opposition to the powerful Qashqai group of tribes headed by the late Isma'il Khan Saulat-ud-Dauleh. Having inherited vast properties in Fars from his father, as well as the titular headship of the "Arab" tribes of that province, he wielded immense authority in the south of Persia at the time of the *coup d'Etat* of 1921. Reza Khan (late Reza Shah) when Minister for War met the Qavam at Isfahan in August 1923 and expressed a wish that he should reside at Tehran; he therefore became elected to the Majlis as member for the Khamseh (Arab) tribes and thereafter has resided a good deal in Tehran. Always on terms of close friendship with His Majesty's Consul at Shiraz, the Qavam engaged in 1926 a British agricultural expert to develop his vast estates; the experiment proved a failure through local opposition and the Qavam's stinginess; the British expert left in 1928. In 1929 fled to Europe, doubtless having foreseen the Qashqai revolts of that year. Visited London 1929. Returned to Tehran the following year, having put his two boys to school at Beirut. His vast properties were left in the hands of his servants, who remitted him a monthly subvention. In 1929 various questions of validity of title to property were raised by the Ministry of Finance; and in 1931 the whole question was settled by the exchange of lands. The Qavam was given crown lands in Nishapur, in the neighbourhood of Tehran, and elsewhere in the centre of Persia, in exchange for his Fars properties. It is believed that he did well out of these transactions, and that he is one of the wealthiest landowners of Persia at present.

In the ninth Majlis of 1933 he was a Deputy for Baluchistan. He had also accompanied Reza Shah on several of his journeys, and was generally supposed to enjoy His Majesty's full confidence. In November 1933, however, on the arrest of the Minister of War, Sardar Asad, while in attendance on the Shah at the Turcoman races, the Qavam seems to have become the object of suspicion, and he was placed under arrest with Asad.

He is an attractive personality to meet. Very pro-British in sentiment, he sent his two sons (Ali Muhammad Qavam and Muhammad Reza Qavam) to England to be educated. Until his arrest he appeared to have settled down permanently as a peaceful courtier at Tehran. Quiet in voice and retiring in manner, he is yet capable of driving a very hard bargain with his own countrymen. He does not appear to have much ambition. Though his name is still a household word at Shiraz, he cannot be considered a tribal leader in the sense that the Qashqai chiefs are; he is best considered as a Persian noble whose family had for some time held suzerainty over a group of tribes and who attained great wealth and influence in Fars, partly through backing the right side in the 1914 war.

Played his part in the "events of 1941"; he and his family at one time "took bast" in the British Legation at Gulhek; and when Reza Shah abdicated and went to Isfahan it was Qavam who was sent by the Government to obtain Reza's signature to documents handing over his properties and private fortune to the State and to his son respectively.

Visited India 1941-42 and bought a house at Bangalore.

Sent back to Shiraz to help General Shabbakhti with his attack on the Qashqais in June 1943.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars September 1943, but could not agree with any of the military chiefs about tribal policy, and returned to Tehran November 1943. He still enjoys considerable influence in Fars but resides generally in Tehran. The general tendency among his own family, whose obedience but not consciences he commands, is to regard him with the utmost respect as the survival of a day that is gone. He himself does not seem to be conscious of, or will not admit, this passage of time.

His son, Ali Muhammad, married Princess Ashraf Pahlavi in March 1937 but the marriage was dissolved. He subsequently married a girl of the Sheibani family, daughter of Muhasib-ul-Mamalik. He had previously been an undergraduate at Bristol where he did badly. Was assistant military attaché in Washington 1941-43.

The other son, Reza, married a daughter of General Muqaddam; one daughter is married to Asadullah Alam, son of the late Shaukat-ul-Mulk, and the other to Dr. Abul Qasim Nafisi.

126. Qavam, Ahmad (Qavam-us-Saltaneh)

A brother of Hassan Vossuq, than whom he is younger by a few years. Began his career in the Ministry of Finance. Became Minister of War, July to October 1910, and Minister of Interior, July to November 1911, and again in December 1911. Minister of Finance, July to August 1914, and Minister of Interior, November 1917 to January 1918. Appointed Governor-General of Khorassan April 1918 and remained there for three years, during which he administered the province with uniform success during troublous times. Became Prime Minister and Minister of Interior, June 1921 to January 1922, and again Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs from June 1922 to

February 1923. Banished to Europe in October 1923, being accused of having plotted against the life of Reza Khan (Reza Shah). Was allowed to return to Tehran at the end of 1928 and arrived in March 1929, when he went to reside quietly on his property at Lahijan near Resht.

Came back to live in Tehran after the fall of Reza Shah. Prime Minister, August 1942, after the fall of Soheily. Worked hard, but gradually surrounded himself with his own relations and friends. Tried hard to gain control of the Ministry of War, but failed to counteract the young Shah's enthusiasm for the control of the army. The Shah's opposition to him was shown in the disturbances of the 8th December 1942, in which Qavam did extremely well and undoubtedly performed a great public service in re-establishing governmental authority. Thereafter, however, he became more and more involved in petty intrigues and favouritism, and had to resign in February 1943; since when he has been more or less openly accused of being the real instigator of the riots of December 1942.

Believed to have been in touch with the Japanese Legation early in 1942, and to have received, when Prime Minister in 1942, messages from persons whom he knew to be German agents, without informing us. This was brought to the notice of the Shah in January 1944.

Became Prime Minister in February 1946 with additional offices of Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Interior. His policy was to seek reconciliation with the Soviet Government. For this purpose he went to Moscow in February 1946.

Responsible for the arrest of Sayyid Zia and General Arfa in March 1946, probably at Russian insistence. In April 1946 concluded an agreement with the Russians granting them an oil concession in the north, to be presented for approval to the fifteenth Majlis. Submitted to Russian pressure to settle the Azerbaijan problem by conciliatory methods in return for which the Red army was withdrawn early in May. During his first year of office he destroyed the autonomous régime of the Azerbaijan Democrats, broke up the Tudeh Party and their affiliated trade unions and established the Iran Democrat Party with which he won a big majority in the general election held in 1947. This majority gradually wasted away during the latter half of 1947 and in December he was defeated in the Majlis and forced to resign. In January 1948 he went to Europe for medical treatment. Returned to Tehran May 1948.

Intriguing, ambitious and fond of money but of great experience and competence. He is a genuine patriot and has generally been friendly to His Majesty's Embassy.

127. Qubadian, Abbas (Amir Makhsus)

Born about 1900, son of Daud Khan, first paramount chief of the Kalkurs. Suspected of being pro-German in 1917-18 when Turks and Germans occupied Western Persia. Seized power in the tribe after the murder of Sulaiman Amir A'zam by Pasha Khan, Qubadian's brother, in 1922. He led a revolt against him, was captured and imprisoned. Vain and obstinate, he is at loggerheads the whole time with most of his own family. Deputy for Kermanshah in the fourteenth Majlis. In early 1946 succeeded in forming a union of the western tribes to combat the Tudeh and the Democrats in Kurdistan. Re-elected to fifteenth Majlis for Kermanshah.

128. Quds, Husain

Born about 1892. Graduate of the Tehran School of Political Science. Has held various posts

under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and was secretary in London for five years. Edited, for a short time, a small literary review. Private secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs 1934. Secretary and, for a time, *Chargé d'Affaires* at Washington 1935, until relations were broken off. Accused of having abused customs franchise while in charge at Washington. Secretary in London March 1937. Consul, Izmir, 1939. Counsellor in London early 1943. Returned to Persia in 1947. Appointed head of Third Political Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, April 1948.

Speaks English and French. A quiet and level-headed official.

129. Radmanish, Dr. Riza

Born about 1900. In 1938 he was arrested by Riza Shah for making Communist propaganda. Elected Deputy for Lahijan in the 14th Majlis. Has been a prominent member of the Tudeh Party since its foundation and was a dominating member of the Tudeh Party General Party Conference in 1944. Edits left-wing paper *Mardum*. One of six editors invited by the Ministry of Information to visit the United Kingdom in the autumn of 1945, but did not accept. A genuine Communist who is not best pleased with the complete subservience of the Tudeh Party to the Russians but unable to help himself. Rather naïve.

130. Rahnama, Zain-ul-Abadin

Born about 1888, one of the sons of the late Sheikh-ul-Iraqain, a Persian subject and small mujtehid of Kerbela.

Rahnama was educated in Iraq and came to Persia about 1910. He was a member of the Democratic party and edited first the newspaper *Rahnama* and subsequently the semi-official paper *Iran*. He was elected a Deputy to the fifth and sixth terms of the Majlis. Was sent to Europe in 1923 on a mission to "boom" Persia, and stayed most of the time in Paris. Was appointed Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Public Works at the end of 1926 and Under-Secretary to the Minister of the Interior in April 1927. In June 1927 he fell from favour and confined himself to journalism, and accompanied the Shah on his journey to Khuzistan in October 1928 as press representative.

Rahnama is an ambitious man, with plenty of "push." His great ambition has always been to obtain a Government post, which he hoped would culminate in a ministerial appointment. With that object in view, he discarded his turban and gave up his title of "sheikh." This brought him three different under-secretaryships in succession. He is intelligent and clever in a certain sense.

Went to Europe in 1933 to purchase printing machinery. In the summer of 1935 was exiled to Iraq and took up his residence in Beirut; the Shah was said to have suspected him of plotting against the régime.

Returned to Persia after the fall of Reza Shah in 1941, and resumed his editorship of the newspaper *Iran*. On a mission to the ulema of Iraq in 1942, and brought back certain messages addressed to the young Shah. Plunged into political intrigue in 1942 and after being disappointed at not being accepted by the Iraq Government as Minister, became a sort of secretary and spy in Soheily's administration in 1943, but soon resigned. Minister in Paris 1944. In February 1945 made a nuisance of himself to the military authorities in the British Zone of occupied Germany, by consistently ignoring all arrangements made for him when he was granted permission to enter the zone to examine the credentials of a number of persons claiming to be Persian, and by misusing

the recommendation given to him by the British Military Mission in Paris to receive accommodation for himself and his unnecessarily large suite and to commandeer the German broadcasting network to summon all Persian subjects to report to him. The Mission in Paris decided that no further help was to be given to him. Appointed Minister in Beirut February 1947.

Speaks French and English.

131. Rais, Muhsin

Born in Tehran about 1895. Educated in Persia and France. The eldest son of the late Zahir-ul-Mulk. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1919. Sent to Switzerland as secretary of the Persian delegation to the League of Nations. Returned to Persia in 1924, and served in the Ministry till he was sent to Paris as counsellor in 1930. Head of the Treaty Section of the Ministry in 1933. Minister at Berlin and The Hague 1935. Political Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, September 1937. Minister at Bucharest for Roumania, Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, December 1938.

Transferred to Vichy in 1941, and returned in July 1942 to Tehran. Minister in Bagdad July 1943. Ambassador to London June 1947.

A very agreeable man, not afraid of hard work. Speaks good French. Married one of the many daughters of Farman Farma in 1935.

132. Razmara, Haji Ali, General (Sipahbud)

Trained in France, at Saint-Cyr. Born about 1900. Related to the Kemal-Hedayat family. Joined the army and commanded a regiment in 1931. Military Governor of the Khamseh tribes 1931. Commanded operations against the Kurdish insurrection of Jaafar Sultan 1932. General Officer Commanding First Tehran Division October 1941. Chief of the General Staff July 1943; relieved by Riazi September 1943. Director of the Shah's Military Secretariat October 1943.

He was dismissed from the post of Chief of General Staff at the end of 1944. Re-attached to General Staff in March 1946. In July 1946 he was reappointed Chief of the General Staff, even though the Shah two months previously had expressed extreme distrust of him. Since that date he has successfully ingratiated himself with the Royal master. Promoted general, March 1948.

An able, energetic but corrupt officer with a reputation as a disciplinarian: in fact he is said to have killed a man on parade for insubordination. Very ambitious and a great intriguer, and trims his sails to any wind. An unprincipled adventurer. Speaks some English.

133. Sadiq, Dr. Issa (Sadiq-i-A'lam)

Born about 1892. Educated partly in England (where he was for a time munshi to Professor Browne) and partly in America, where he took a doctor's degree. Began his career in a very lowly station in the Ministry of Education. Rose to be Director of Education in Gilan. Attended an international congress on education in England about 1929, where he lectured on modern educational methods in Persia. Principal of the Teachers' College (*Ecole normale*) 1932.

Minister of Public Instruction in Feroughi's Cabinet September 1941. On the resignation of that Cabinet in 1942 became dean of the University of Tehran. Again Minister of Education in Suhaili's reshuffled Cabinet of December 1943. Minister of Education in Bayat's Government of November 1944. As chairman of Tehran Telephone Company went to the United Kingdom to buy equipment for

the Company in 1947. Minister of Education under Qavam-us-Saltaneh, September-December 1947.

An intelligent and go-ahead man speaking English and French. Well disposed towards Anglo-Saxon methods of education. The author of several works on education.

134. Sadiqi, Abul Hasan

Born about 1900, son of a wealthy landowner who was many years a Deputy for Tabriz. Abul Hasan has long service in the National Bank, mostly in Tehran: Deputy for Tabriz in the fourteenth Majlis. He contributed 150,000 rials to the Tudeh for their election support but is not in sympathy with them. Well-educated with a good knowledge of economic affairs. At one time was under German influence. On the Russian list of candidates for election to the Majlis in 1943. Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Roads May 1946 and in June 1946 a member of the delegation under Muzaffar Firuz, which went to Tabriz to seek an understanding with the Azerbaijani Democrats. Acting Director-General of the State Railways October 1946 and Minister of Roads and Communications in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet October 1946. Resigned December 1946; re-appointed June-September 1947; elected to fifteenth Majlis for Tehran.

135. Sadiqi, Sadiq (Mustashar-ud-Daulah)

Born about 1865. Educated at Constantinople. Was a secretary at the Persian Embassy in Turkey for many years. Elected a Deputy for Tabriz, his native town, to the first Majlis in 1906. Elected President of the second Majlis in 1909. An ardent Constitutionalist he was arrested by Muhammad Ali Shah in 1908 and imprisoned until January 1909. Elected a member of the committee which was convened to draw up the Electoral Law. Appointed Minister of Interior in 1911, Minister of Posts in 1914 and 1915, and again Minister of Interior in 1915 and in June 1917. In the following Cabinet he was a Minister without portfolio.

Before the war of 1914-18 he was pro-Russian, but when war broke out he espoused the cause of Germany and Turkey, and was one of the most extreme of "enemy partisans." After the war His Majesty's Legation demanded that he be exiled to some outlying province of Persia.

Appointed Persian Ambassador to Turkey in January 1931. Returned to Tehran on retirement at the end of 1935.

Minister without portfolio in Qavam-es-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942, and continued in that capacity, with vague duties, in Soheily's Cabinet of February 1943. Highly respected and considered a wit, but almost useless and senile. Dropped from Soheily's Cabinet December 1943.

Proposed Governor-General of Eastern and Western Azerbaijan, should agreement be reached between autonomous Azerbaijan "Government" and Central Government. Took part in discussions with Mission from Azerbaijan which came to Tehran April 1946 but with no official status.

Speaks French and Turkish.

136. Sadr, Sayyid Muhsin (Sadr-ul-Ashraf)

Born about 1873. An almost unknown person in Tehran politics until appointed Minister of Justice in Feroughi's Cabinet of the 7th September, 1933. Spent the whole of his previous service in various judicial posts under the Ministry of Justice. Has been president of the Court of Cassation. One of the old school, who looks much better in the turban than in a hat. Was responsible for some of the new sections of the Civil Code. Resigned September 1936.

Minister of Justice in Soheily's Cabinet of 1943. Said to have been one of the pro-German "Kabud" party in 1942.

Became Prime Minister on the 6th June, 1945. Resigned October 1945. During his period of office he was bitterly attacked by all Left-wing elements and accused of being a reactionary. Did his best to resist Soviet encroachment on Northern Persia, but the pressure was too strong and he was replaced by Hakimi who was less unpopular with the Russians.

137. Sa'id, Muhammad (Sa'id-ul-Vizareh)

Born about 1885. Educated in the Caucasus. Served in various capacities in the Persian consular posts in the Caucasus: viz., at Baku, Tiflis and Batum. Acting consul-general at Baku in 1927. Head of the Russian Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1933. Appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Moscow in February 1934. Minister at Rome June 1936. Accredited also to Hungary, 1938. Ambassador at Moscow, April 1938.

Recalled from Moscow to be Minister for Foreign Affairs in Qavam-es-Saltaneh's Cabinet August 1942. Held the post in Soheily's Cabinet of February 1943. In the running for Prime Minister, being favoured for that post by the Shah 1943, but the Majlis would not agree.

Appointed Prime Minister in March 1944. Resigned on the 10th November, 1944. After Kavtaradze's arrival he was persistently opposed by the Tudeh and the Russians and was thus able to do little during his tenure of office. His Government's rejection in October 1944 of the Russian demand for an oil concession brought about a crisis which resulted in Sa'id's resignation.

Elected to 15th Majlis for Rezaieh.

A very agreeable official, whose Russian is better than his Persian. He must have an intimate knowledge of the Caucasus and of Soviet methods of administration. He has a handsome Latvian wife. Always willing to help. Appears to have no delusions about Russia.

138. Sajjadi, Muhammad

Born in 1899 in Tehran. Son of a Mulla. Employed in the Ministry of Justice by the late Davar and later transferred to the Customs as Acting Director-General 1934. Then employed in the Tobacco Monopoly until 1937, when he became Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Communications. Acting Minister of Communications on Ahi's dismissal in November 1938.

Minister of Roads in Ferugi's Cabinet of September 1941 and then head of the Tehran Municipality in 1942. Arrested and sent to Sultanabad by the Allied security authorities September 1943. Released at end of war 1939-45.

Director of the Exchange Control Department in the Ministry of Finance in Hakimi's Government of November 1945. Resigned November 1945.

Minister of National Economy under Qavam-us-Saltaneh, September-December 1947, and again under Hakimi, December 1947-June 1948.

Spent several years in France and speaks French. A talkative and clever man, with a rather attractive air of buffoonery, but superficial. Married his brother's wife.

139. Salih, Allayar

Graduate of the American College at Tehran. Born about 1900. For some years employed as a secretary in the American Legation at Tehran. He then entered the Ministry of Justice, where he held various appointments as judge, public

prosecutor, &c. Was transferred to the Ministry of Finance through the influence of Davar, and appointed director of the opium monopoly, and afterwards director of the tobacco monopoly.

Head of the customs for a short time. Then accountant-general.

Sent to Washington on an economic mission 1941. Returned in the autumn of 1942 to be Minister of Finance in the hope that he would work well with Dr. Millspaugh, but he proved a disappointment, quarrelled with Dr. Millspaugh, and was allowed to resign by Soheily in March 1943.

Sent on a Commercial Mission to India September 1943.

Member of the Persian Delegation to San Francisco and spent some time in London on his way back to Persia. Minister of the Interior in Hakimi's Cabinet, November 1945 to January 1946 when he dismissed Ghulam Hussein Ibtihaj, the pro-Sayyid Zia Mayor of Tehran and replaced him by Nariman, as being more acceptable to the Russians.

In Hakimi's Cabinet he was regarded as the leader of the appeasement group. Is said to have the ear of the American Embassy where his brother is a Munshi. Minister of Justice August 1946: resigned October 1946.

An intelligent and able man. Speaks French and English.

140. Sami'i, Husain (Adib-us-Saltaneh)

Born about 1878, a native of Resht. Spent his early career in the Ministry of Interior and was once Governor of Resht. Appointed Minister of Public Works 1921 to June 1922. In March 1923 he became Minister of Interior for three months. When the present Shah became Prime Minister in October 1923, Sami'i was chosen as his assistant, until, in August 1924, he was appointed Minister of Justice. Early in 1926 he was appointed Governor of Tehran and held that post until he was appointed Minister of Interior in June 1927. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in May 1931. Grand Master of Ceremonies (Internal), 1938. Dismissed during the Crown Prince's wedding celebrations, April 1939. Ustandar (Governor-General) of the IVth Ustan (Western Azerbaijan), July 1939.

Ambassador to Kabul 1939. Returned to Tehran July 1942 and became Minister of State, without portfolio, in Qavam-es-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942. Appointed Minister of the Interior by Soheily in July 1943, ostensibly in order to supervise the elections to the 14th Majlis, but he soon resigned. President of the Farhangistan (Academy) at Tehran 1943. Grand Master Ceremonies 1943.

Went to Russia at invitation of Soviet Government for anniversary of Science Academy in Tashkent 1945.

Sami'i is a pleasant man, but of little influence. He is not very energetic nor highly intelligent. He speaks no foreign language.

141. Sanjabi, Kerim

Born 1904, near Kermanshah; a member of one of the principal families of the well-known Sanjabi tribe. In 1920 came to Tehran for study and completed the courses at the Political and Law Schools at Tehran. 1928 went to France and spent three years in Paris and three in the provinces. Doctor of Law of Paris. In 1934 returned to Persia, and served in the Religious Endowment Department of the Ministry of Education, and also taught law. 1940 head of the statistical department of the Ministry of Finance. Appointed in 1943 professor of law at the Tehran University. Promoted head of Law Faculty 1944.

142. Sayyah, Hamid

Born in Isfahan 1886. Brother of Humayun Sayyah. Educated at Moscow. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1916. For some time a judge in the Tribunal of the Ministry. Commercial secretary at Moscow 1922-26. A director of the Caspian Fisheries Joint Board 1927-31. Chief of the Russian section at the Ministry in 1932. In charge of the Eastern Department, 1933. Consul-general at Beirut, March 1934. Minister at Warsaw, June 1936.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Feroughi's Cabinet of September 1941, and was most helpful to us. Again Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Qavam-es-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942 until January 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs again December 1943. Minister of Communications in Sa'id's Cabinet March-August 1944. Accompanied Qavam to Moscow in February 1946. Appointed Minister to Moscow March 1946. Returned October 1946 and was Minister of Commerce and Industry until June 1947. Re-appointed ambassador at Moscow November 1947.

Speaks French and Russian. Married his cousin, Fatimeh Khanum Sayyah, but afterwards divorced her. An agreeable but not a brilliant personality. He knows too much about Russian methods ever to incline towards bolshevism. A good bridge player.

143. Sayyah, Kazim

Born about 1892. A family of Turkish descent, sometimes calling themselves Sayyah-Sipanlou, and not related to Hamid Sayyah. Served in the Turkish army in the 1914-18 war, and taken prisoner by the British troops 1917. Then employed in the Caucasus where he had various adventures in 1920 and 1921. A strong supporter of Seyyid Zia in the latter's *coup d'Etat* of 1921, and when the Seyyid fell he fled with him to Switzerland. Returned to Persia about 1923 and was imprisoned by Reza Shah for some time. Then employed under the Ministry of Industry in supervising the factories at Isfahan. Was also in charge of the Fine Arts Department at that place 1940 to 1942. Fell under suspicion as pro-German owing to his relations with the factory engineers, most of whom were Germans. Transferred to Tehran 1942 and put in charge of the glycerine factory. In 1943 employed by the Americans in the price stabilisation section of the Ministry of Finance. Appointed "Rais-i-Intizam" or head of the organisation section of the Ministry of Interior 1944. Kazim Sayyah is well known as a strong supporter of Sayyid Zia. His appointment as "Rais-i-Intizam," therefore, raised an outcry by all Left-wing elements and by those who favoured a policy of appeasement towards the Russians. Appointed one of the directors of the Tehran Electricity Company 1945.

A man of the world, capable of good work, and claims to be well-disposed towards us. Married to a Greek.

144. Shafai, Ismail, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born in Tehran about 1885. Educated in Persia and Russia. Joined the Cossack Brigade in 1910. Appointed chief of the arsenal in 1922. Visited Europe in 1923, and again in 1926, in connexion with the purchase of machinery for a new arsenal. Promoted brigadier-general March 1932. Went to Europe that year to purchase military stores. Ceased to control the arsenal in 1934 on going to Europe, where he remained, usually at Berne, as chief of the Arms Purchasing Commission until 1937, when he returned to Persia.

Employed at Court 1943, and supervised the arms and powder factories; his services appear to have pleased the Russians.

Minister of Industry December 1943, but in coping with a strike had the misfortune accidentally to kill one of the strikers. Resigned March 1944. Military attaché to Moscow, September 1944. Returned with Qavam in February 1946. Appointed Deputy Chief of General Staff, November 1946.

An amiable and jolly old soldier. Is a Bahai. Speaks Russian and German.

145. Shahbakhti, Muhammad, General (Sipahbud)

Born about 1882, the son of a peasant inhabiting the village of Ishtihar, near Tehran, but has now been heard to describe himself as a native of Azerbaijan, possibly to cover up his humble origin.

He enlisted in the Cossack Brigade about 1901, distinguished himself by bravery in the field, and received a commission. In 1914 he was a captain. He attached himself to Reza Khan, whose influence with General Starosselsky secured him promotion to the rank of colonel in 1919. After the *coup d'Etat* of 1921 he was appointed to command the Ahan regiment of infantry. In 1925 he was promoted general and given command of an infantry brigade in Tehran. In 1926 he was sent to command the western division, but was recalled in the spring of 1928 for corruption; he, however, managed to ingratiate himself with the Shah, and was appointed shortly afterwards to command the Persian troops in Kurdistan. In December 1929 he was sent to command the troops in Fars, but was superseded by General Shaibani.

Appointed to command the troops in Azerbaijan in 1932. Promoted to the rank of Amir Lashgar in March of that year. Transferred to Ahwaz as general officer commanding, January 1939.

Appointed commander of the western forces October 1941, with the rank of marshal (sipahbud). Controlled the Kermanshah area pretty thoroughly, ignoring completely the civil governor, till he was transferred to Fars to quell the Qashqais under Naser Qashqai in February 1943. He was not very successful in that campaign and after the defeat of the garrison at Semirum in July 1943 came to Tehran to report. In his old age he seems to have become more arrogant and unapproachable. Suspected of taking large bribes when at Kermanshah.

Placed on retired list October 1943. Recalled to active list 1947 and appointed Inspector of Troops in Azerbaijan.

An almost entirely uneducated survival from the Cossack Brigade, resembling in appearance and manners the more famous product of that corps, Reza Shah.

146. Shams-ul-Mulk Ara'i, Asadullah (Shahab-ud-Daulah), K.C.V.O.

A Qajar prince. Born about 1880. Educated in Persia. For many years employed in the Telegraph Department. Governor of Yazd in 1911. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs 1914-15. Minister of Public Works 1915. Master of Ceremonies at the Court 1922-25. Governor of Kermanshah 1929. Recalled 1933, and appointed Governor of Kurdistan in October 1934. Recalled April 1936, owing, it is said, to having incurred the displeasure of the Shah through not accelerating reforms in his province.

Holds the dignity of K.C.V.O., received when in attendance on Ahmed Shah during his visit to London in 1919.

Governor-General of Fars early 1942, but was superseded in the following summer, without having accomplished much. Governor-General of Kermanshah October 1946.

A rather pompous man, said to be a great intriguer; but he is not averse to the society of foreigners, and probably regrets the good old days. Speaks English and French fluently.

147. Shayigan, Dr. Sayyid Ali

Born in Shiraz in 1904, a son of the late Haji Seyyid Hashim. Educated at the Tehran Law and Political School and in Paris (Doctor of Law). Professor of Civil Law 1940. Dean of Faculty of Law. Under-Secretary of State in Ministry of Education May 1946. Has helped the British Council with advice on law books. Minister of Education in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet October 1946 to June 1947. Friendly but weak and impressionable.

148. Shirvani, Abu Talib (Banan-es-Sultan)

Born in Isfahan about 1899. Educated in the local schools, and also for two years at the Church Missionary School. Studied English, but cannot speak it well. Led a disreputable life in his youth, joining the famous brigand Riza Khan Jauzani; served also under another brigand, Mashallah Khan. Started the newspaper *Mihan* at Isfahan in 1919. On writing an article criticising Major Fazlullah Khan, the head of the gendarmerie, he was arrested and whipped by order of the major. In 1921 started the paper *Mihan* at Tehran. His paper was nationalist and scurrilous. Published articles against the Sinclair Company in 1922, doubtless for a consideration. Deputy for Isfahan in the fifth and sixth Majlises. Interested in the Khourian Oil Company. Visited Moscow by invitation in 1927 on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the revolution. Visited London December 1927. Became an advocate in the Tehran courts in 1927.

Came again into prominence on the fall of Reza Shah. Head of the Department of Propaganda 1942, but had to resign owing to hostile criticism in certain newspapers accusing him (with truth) of being a Christian. Has claims to land in Fars. Arrested in Isfahan September 1946 for complicity in tribal revolt in Fars; released November 1946.

An unprincipled intriguer, quite without scruple and quite untrustworthy.

149. Siasi, Ali Akbar

Born 1893. Educated in France 1911 and stayed in France till the outbreak of the 1914 war. Took a course in pedagogy. Employed as dragoman and Persian secretary at the French Legation from about 1917 to April 1941. At the same time he was instructor in psychology and law at the University of Tehran; later professor. Went to Europe 1927 and took a further course in France, obtaining a doctorate in philosophy. Married the daughter of the late Bayat, and so acquired wealth. One of the founders of the French-sponsored "Young Persian Club" in 1921.

Minister of Education, August 1942. Resigned from Soheily's Cabinet in August 1943. Dean of the University of Tehran. Minister without Portfolio in Bayat's Government 1944.

Member of Persian delegation to San Francisco Conference, March 1945. Visited United Kingdom after the conference.

Invited by Soviet Government to visit Tashkent for the twentieth anniversary of the Science Academy there, December 1945.

Minister of Education in Hakimi's Cabinet, December 1947. Resigned April 1948 after being attacked in the Majlis for saying that the university should be free not only from political but also from religious control.

An intelligent man with a perfect command of French; his outlook is more French than Persian in some respects. Always polite and agreeable to talk to. Is also able to make a very good speech in English.

150. Sipahbudi, Anushirvan

Born in Tehran about 1890. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1907 and worked there till 1910. Vice-consul at Vladikavkaz in 1910, and thereafter served at different posts in the Caucasus till 1918. Then chief of a section at the Ministry; in charge of the Protocol Department in 1926. Minister in Switzerland 1929-33. Under-Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, July 1933. At the beginning of 1934 made Minister at Rome, being accredited also to Vienna, Prague and Budapest. Ambassador at Moscow, June 1936, until April 1938. Minister, Paris, July 1938, and also accredited to Spain in June 1939.

Ambassador to Turkey 1940. Minister for Foreign Affairs June-October 1945. Minister for Justice in Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946. Ambassador in Paris August 1946.

Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs by Qavam-us-Saltaneh in June 1947 but did not take up his post. Recalled to Persia February 1948.

A man of no particular family, he has made his way to the top while still young. Speaks French and Russian. Is quite well supplied with brains, but is often too lazy to use them. On friendly terms with Shah. Hates Russians.

151. Sipahr, Ahmad Ali (Muvarrrikhu'd-Daulah)

In June 1942 he was mixed up in a German plot involving Qavam-us-Saltaneh and Hussain Ali Qaraguzlu (not the same man as No. 132). Was Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry at the beginning of 1944. In February 1944 was Acting Minister of Commerce and Industry for a short while after the resignation of Nakah'i. He was removed from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the summer of 1944 and remained without an appointment until August 1945 when he was appointed head of the Caspian Fisheries, a post which brought him into close touch with the Russians. Closely associated with Qavam-us-Saltaneh and joined the Cabinet as Minister for Commerce and Industry in 1946. Dismissed from Cabinet and banished to Kashan July 1946. Permitted to return to Tehran December 1946.

For a time remained in retreat but reappeared in social life after Qavam's fall in December 1947. In June 1948 tried to get himself put up as Prime Minister, but only obtained the support of a few unimportant newspapers and was never considered a serious candidate.

An incorrigible intriguer and corrupt even by Persian standards.

152. Suhaili, Ali

Born about 1890. Educated partly in Russia and talks Russian well, also French and a little English. His career has been in various Government administrations. In January 1931 was appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Roads and Communications under Kazimi. In September 1933 he was transferred to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs as Under-Secretary, when Kazimi was appointed Minister. Soheily had also served as chief Persian representative on the board of the Caspian Fisheries Directorate. Several times Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs in the absence of his chief. Minister in London, March 1937. Minister for Foreign Affairs, May 1938, but dismissed in July, owing to the late Shah's displeasure over a telegram concerning the Paris Exhibition. Ustadar (Governor-General) of the VIIIth Ustan (Kerman) February 1939. Ambassador, Kabul, October 1939.

Became Prime Minister, rather unexpectedly, in March 1942, after having been Minister for Foreign Affairs in Feroughi's Cabinet from September 1941

(during which time he was the Persian signatory of the Tripartite Treaty of February 1942). His Cabinet fell in July 1942, partly owing to lack of support from the Court and the army. Again Prime Minister on the fall of Qavam-us-Saltaneh in February 1943, once more unexpectedly; this time it was largely because Mu'tamin-ul-Mulk could not stand and the Majlis did not want the Shah's candidate, Saed. Proved himself once more a hard worker, but carried little weight in the country and had to maintain himself by various "combinations" and political deals with Majlis Deputies. During 1944-45 he was frequently a strong candidate for the Premiership, but was suspected by many of being too well-disposed towards the Russians. Went to Egypt in the summer of 1945 and was made a member of the Persian delegation to U.N.O. in January 1946.

Was tried in February 1948 for illegal interference in the elections for the 14th Majlis and on other political charges, but was acquitted. Minister without Portfolio in Hakimi's Cabinet, March 1948. Appointed ambassador to Paris, June 1948.

A very reasonable, matter-of-fact person, with a business-like manner. Hard-working and approachable. In his contacts with His Majesty's Embassy he has always given the impression of his willingness to help and to arrive at a reasonable settlement. He has the reputation of being corrupt and a liar, and of rarely keeping his word. He is universally suspected of having taken a great many bribes. Has a Caucasian wife.

153. Sururi, Muhammad

Born about 1900. Served in various Government Departments, being one of the favoured young men selected by Davar, then Minister of Justice, when he revised the organisation of the Ministry in 1929. Has been judge in the Tehran courts, and Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice. Director of the Agricultural Bank 1942, but removed from that post June 1943. Posted to the Ministry of the Interior to look after it till Hajir's return, January 1944. Minister of Interior in Sa'id's Cabinet of August 1944 and again in Bayat's Cabinet in November 1944-June 1945. He did well, but incurred the displeasure of the Tudeh party when he arrested the worst of the professional toughs of Tehran and imprisoned them in Bandar Abbas.

Minister of Justice under Hakimi December 1947-June 1948.

Business-like and said to be honest. Lacking in real initiative, but carries out orders efficiently.

154. Taba, Dr. Abdul Hussein

Born in Tehran about 1911. Educated in medicine in England and qualified in medicine and surgery after eight years in Birmingham and at Guy's Hospital. Real name is Tabatabai, of the Yazdi family of that name. Employed by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company as a doctor 1940-42, and since practising in Tehran.

Elected to 15th Majlis for Naum.

A bright young man who seems keen on his profession. Married the youngest daughter of Vosugh-ed-Douleh.

155. Tabatabai, Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq

Second son of the late Seyyid Mohammad Tabatabai, who was a prominent figure in the Nationalist movement of 1906 to 1910. Born in Tehran about 1880. Elected to the third and fourth Majlises. In close touch with pro-Germans during the war of 1914-18. Emigrated to Turkey in 1916. Returned in 1918 and co-operated with Suleiman Mirza in forming the Socialist party. During this phase he was in close touch with the Soviet

Embassy. Ambassador to Turkey 1924-27. Recalled in 1927 and offered a post as a judge in the High Court of Appeal, but did not accept it.

Was more or less under arrest for about ten years in Tehran until the fall of Reza Shah 1941. Gradually entered political life after that and initiated and fostered the "Millat" Party ("The Nation").

Head of the Election Committee for Tehran 1943-44, and himself elected Deputy.

Elected President of the fourteenth Majlis.

An opium addict for thirty years, he frequently found it difficult to keep awake when he was presiding over the Majlis. An incorrigible intriguer he stands close to the Shah, to whom he has always offered bad advice. His "liberal" ideas are not to be taken seriously. He and his friends pride themselves on their patriotism and the pursuit of the middle way between Britain and the U.S.S.R. For reasons unknown he is generally regarded as a "national" figure. Would like to be Prime Minister. Unsuccessful candidate for Tehran in elections for fifteenth Majlis.

Speaks French.

156. Tabatabai, Sayyid Zia-ud-Din

Born about 1893. Son of the late Sayyid Ali Yazdi Tabatabai. Edited the newspaper *Rad* (Thunder) in Tehran in 1915-16. Played a considerable political rôle in 1917-18. Sent to Baku by Vosugh-ed-Dowleh in 1919 as Persian representative to Caucasian Azerbaijan; returned to Tehran in May 1920. Carried out *coup d'Etat* with the help of the Cossacks in February 1921, and seized the reins of office. Appointed Prime Minister with full powers by Ahmed Shah on the 1st March, 1921, and effected numerous arrests. His reforms were too radical and he fell from power in June, fleeing the country.

Took a prominent part in the Pan-Islamic Congress at Jerusalem in 1933.

In 1942, being by that time the owner of a very prosperous farm near Chazza in Palestine, which he had developed himself, he began to think of returning to his native country, and Muzaffar Firuz began with great energy and indiscretion to run a newspaper campaign in his favour in Tehran. He published a letter from the Sayyid in which the Russians were praised in fulsome language. His name came forward a good deal in the Tehran press during 1943, and quite a number of Deputies in the thirteenth Majlis seem to have favoured his return. The Russians and the Shah, however, were steadfastly opposed to his return, the former because they mistrusted Firuz's unfortunate letter, and the latter through fear that the Sayyid might become a dictator. However, he returned to Tehran in September 1943 and was elected to the fourteenth Majlis from Yazd, his native place. Caused annoyance by insisting on wearing a woollen hat of Caucasian style, and alienated some of his friends by an appearance of stubbornness and obstinacy.

Founded a political party which in the summer of 1945 was officially launched under the name of "Iradeh-i-Milli" or National Will. His followers claimed that the party numbered about 9,000 in Tehran, at the end of 1945. Is the particular bugbear of the Tudeh and the Russians, who never tire of vilifying him as the arch-enemy of his country and the principal tool in Persia of imperialists, reactionaries, &c. During the near-panic which prevailed in Tehran in November-December 1945 as a result of the approach of the Azerbaijan Democrats towards Qazvin many leading politicians and Deputies began seriously to consider that Sayyid Zia should be exiled from Persia as a sop to the Russians.

Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh on 19th March, 1946. Released to house detention in March 1947 on account of ill-health, and soon afterwards set free.

It is no exaggeration to say that Sayyid Zia rallied the anti-Tudeh forces in Persia and thus made it possible to resist intensive Soviet pressure when it came. He has never allowed personal or even party interest to interfere with his policy.

A man of outstanding singleness of purpose and courage. Personally attractive, religious without being fanatical or obscurantist, he is at the same time short-tempered and impatient of criticism.

The comparative lack of success of his party was due first to furious Soviet opposition, secondly, to his having been out of contact with the country for twenty-three years, and thirdly to the impossibility of reconciling his progressive ideas with the conservatism of many of his followers on whose financial aid he was dependent. Speaks French and English.

Has something of the mystic in him.

157. Tadayun, Sayyid Muhammad

Born about 1884, a native of Birjand in East Persia; educated in Tehran, where he graduated and became a schoolmaster. After the split up of the original Democrat party in 1912, Tadayun became the leader of one of the more important Democrat factions. He was elected a Deputy from Tehran to the fourth term of the Majlis, and from Birjand to the fifth and sixth terms. Was elected President of the Majlis in the second half of the fifth term, and again at the beginning of the sixth term. In February 1927 he was appointed Minister of Education, but in December he resigned that appointment owing to disagreement with his colleagues in the Cabinet, but he resumed office nine days later at the personal request of the Shah. On the 7th January, 1928, the Shah ordered him to resign, and his fall was said to be due to the personal animosity towards him of Teymourache. In June 1930 he was appointed Governor of Kerman.

He was recalled from Kerman in March 1931, and he appears to believe that one reason for his recall was that he was too friendly with Lieutenant-Colonel Noel, then British Consul.

Returned to politics on the fall of Reza Shah; was Minister of Education in Feroughi's Cabinet of 1941-42, and spoke eloquently in favour of the Tripartite Treaty of 1942. Minister of Food after Farrukh in 1942; resigned in July 1943. Minister of the Interior, September 1943, and did well in running the elections. But was not included in the reshuffled Cabinet of December 1943.

Tried in the summer of 1947 on a charge of interfering in the elections for the 14th Majlis, and acquitted.

158. Tahiri, Dr. Hadi

Born at Yazd about 1888. Son of a mulla. Landowner and proprietor of various concerns at Yazd. A great rival of the Nawwab family of Yazd. Elected to the Majlis on various occasions, and has served as president of the Financial Commission of the Majlis. In the thirteenth Majlis was one of the vice-presidents and was considered one of the leading members of the Majlis. Served on the Committee of the Anglo-Iranian Relief Fund, 1943, and was helpful in providing local knowledge. Was largely responsible for the success of Seyyid Zia-ed-Din in the Yazd elections of 1943, thereby incurring the dislike and distrust of the Shah. Very friendly to us. Accused of various peculations at Yazd, but nothing was proved.

In the fourteenth Majlis he was, with Sayyid Kazim Jalili Yazdi, the most influential Deputy. Bitterly anti-Soviet he worked hard to maintain the

Majlis majority against Soviet pressure. Though very slow in speech and manner he is extremely astute and had a profound knowledge of his Majlis colleagues and particularly of their weak points. Though patriotic he would not allow his patriotism to interfere unduly with his personal interests in Yazd. He has a congenital aversion to the obvious course and delights to achieve his objectives by devious means through the agency of others. It would be idle to pretend that he has progressive ideas.

Arrested November 1946 for political activities against Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Released February 1947.

159. Taqizadeh, Hasan

Born in Tabriz about 1880, the son of a small preacher. He was educated in his native town, and used to haunt the booksellers' shops, where he showed great eagerness to acquire knowledge. In his early youth he was an ardent Nationalist, and was connected with the Nationalist movement in Persia from the beginning. He was elected to the first term of the Majlis and was one of its most prominent members. Mohammad Ali Shah hated and feared him, and when the Shah made a *coup d'Etat* in 1908 against the Majlis, Taqizadeh took refuge in His Majesty's Legation. The demand made by the Shah that he should be given up was refused, and Taqizadeh was eventually amnestied, on the condition that he went to Europe. He visited London and Cambridge, but returned to Tabriz at the end of 1908. He was elected to the second term of the Majlis in 1909, and, after the capture of Tehran by the Nationalist forces and the abdication of Muhammad Ali Shah in July 1909, Taqizadeh became a prominent member of the Nationalist Committee, which was set up to decide on the Government of the country. Went to Europe in 1910. He was elected in his absence to the third and fourth terms of the Majlis, but did not take his seat. He stayed in Europe and America during the whole period from 1914 to 1923, and was for years in Berlin, where he edited a paper called *Kaveh*. For publishing certain articles of an anti-Islamic nature he was excommunicated by the Mujtehids. He negotiated the Perso-Soviet Commercial Treaty in Moscow in February 1921, and finally returned to Persia in 1924. He was elected to the fifth term of the Majlis 1924-26, and to the sixth term in 1926. He visited America again in 1926 as Persian delegate to the Philadelphia Exhibition. Appointed Governor-General of Khorasan in January 1929; he was recalled in May and appointed Persian Minister in London, where he remained until April 1930, when he returned to Persia and became Minister of Roads and Communications. In August 1930 he was appointed Minister of Finance in addition.

Taqizadeh fell from grace in September 1933, for reasons which are obscure. The Shah is said to have suspected him of intrigue with Majlis members in connexion with the purchase of gold. He was, however, soon re-employed as Minister in Paris.

Recalled from Paris in August 1934, but obtained prolonged leave of absence and did not return to Persia. Appointed Iranian representative at the Congress of Orientalists at Rome in September 1935.

Appointed Minister in London by Feroughi 1941 and became ambassador in 1944.

Headed Persian Delegation to the U.N.O. in London in January 1946 and ably presented the Persian case when the Security Council considered the Perso-Russian dispute about Azerbaijan. Appointed to act as Persian representative in winding up the League of Nations in Geneva, March 1946.

Elected Deputy for Tabriz in fifteenth Majlis and as the five years of his appointment in London had ended he agreed to return to Persia to take his seat. As an old friend he helped Hakimi when the latter became Prime Minister in December 1947.

He is married to a German and talks German fluently. Speaks English and French less well.

160. Uvaisi, Ali Muhammad

Born in Tehran 1884. Educated at the School of Political Science at Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1903. Vice-consul at Baku 1904. Karguzar at Darejeh 1905. Deputy Karguzar at Tabriz 1906. Governor of Enzeli (now Pahlevi) 1908. Passport Officer at Constantinople 1909-14. In the Ministry of Public Works 1918. Served in this Ministry in various posts until 1931, when he was appointed Governor of Yazd. Governor of Khuzistan 1933-35. Appointed as commercial representative in the East (India, China and Japan), with headquarters at Bombay, March 1936. Employed in Tehran 1945 in Ministry of Commerce and Industry, as Under-Secretary of State.

Speaks French fluently, and is a pleasant conversationalist. Married to a European lady. Has great ideas on commerce and development schemes. Not popular with his colleagues.

161. Varasteh, Muhammad Ali

Was Under-Secretary to the Ministry of the Interior and in 1942 was transferred to the Ministry of Finance. 1944-46 Governor-General of Isfahan, where he enjoyed the support of the Shah and was considered by His Majesty's Consul to have been honest and done his best to maintain law and order. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Hakimi's Cabinet December 1947-June 1948.

162. Vasiqi, Sadiq

Born in 1898 at Tabriz, but of a Mazandaran family. Employed for many years in the Department of Commerce of the Ministry of Public Works, and in the Ministry of Commerce since the former ministry was divided up. Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce until April 1938, when he became Acting Minister on the dismissal of M. Ala.

He has paid several visits to Europe, notably to Germany when the Clearing Agreement with that country was negotiated in 1935, and to Moscow in 1939, when the question of renewing the Russo-Iranian Trade Agreement arose. Head of Agricultural Bank in 1942, but was removed to make room for one of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's political nominees. Member of the board of the Iran Insurance Company, February 1943. Head of Mortgage Bank, December 1943. Secretary of the Perso-Soviet Cultural Relations Committee, February 1944. Member of the National Bank Supervisory Board, August 1945.

Educated in Tehran at the Ecole Polytechnique (Dar-ul-Funun), and speaks French and English.

163. Vussuq, Hasan, G.C.B. (Vussuq-ud-Daulah)

Born about 1868. Began his career in the Ministry of Finance. Elected a Deputy to the first and second terms of the Majlis, and in 1909 chosen to be a member of the Nationalist Committee, which directed the affairs of State after the abdication of Muhammad Ali Shah. His first Cabinet appointment was as Minister of Justice in October 1909. In the following month he became Minister of Finance, but resigned in July 1910. In July 1911 he became Minister for Foreign Affairs. Again Minister for Foreign Affairs in January 1913, he left for Europe in June of the same year. Minister for Foreign Affairs, July-August 1914, and Minister of

Finance, August-December 1915. Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, August 1916 to May 1917. Prime Minister and Minister of Interior from August 1918 to June 1920. Negotiated the Anglo-Persian Convention of 1919. Visited Europe in June 1920, and only returned to Persia at the beginning of 1926. Appointed Minister of Finance in June 1926, but resigned in November to take his seat in Parliament. Elected as a Deputy from Tehran to the seventh term of the Majlis 1928-30. Appointed President of the new "Academy" for the revision of the Persian language, December 1935.

A man of great ability and character. He became unpopular over the Anglo-Persian Convention, but, after a most able and convincing defence of his acts as Prime Minister during the period 1918-20 before the Majlis, he regained a large measure of popularity.

Went to Europe for a serious operation 1940; survived it, unable to return to Persia; he was appointed ambassador to Turkey by his brother, Qavam-us-Saltaneh in 1942, but could not proceed.

Returned to Persia summer 1946. Is now too old to take an active part in politics.

Speaks French fluently, also a little English.

164. Yazdan Panah, Murteza, General (Sipahbud)

Born about 1891; son of Mirza Ali Akbar, a small shopkeeper in the village of Serdasht. In 1907 Murteza Khan entered the Cossack Cadet School. Received his commission in 1912, showed strong pro-Russian sympathies, and consequently gained rapid promotion. Made lieutenant-colonel in 1919 and colonel in 1920. During the whole of his service he was intimate with Reza Khan, and accompanied him on the march to Tehran in February 1921 which culminated in the *coup d'Etat*. Was promoted general and given command of the Central Division. In July 1927 he fell from favour, and was put under arrest for a short time for an unknown reason. Whatever the suspicions against him were, they appear to have been unsubstantiated, for he was released very soon. In the autumn of 1928 he was appointed inspector of the gendarmerie, but was superseded in 1930 and left without any active command.

Inspector of Infantry in 1932. Commandant of Tehran Cadet College, 1933.

On the fall of Reza Shah, he became Chief of the General Staff, and worked as a loyal supporter of the young Shah.

Appointed adjutant-general to the Shah, autumn 1943. Member of the Perso-Soviet Cultural Relations Committee, February 1944.

Leader of military contingent chosen to represent Persia at Victory Parade in London, June 1946.

Minister for War in Hakimi's Cabinet, December 1947-June 1948.

Honest, genial and staunchly patriotic. Although he is one of the Shah's closest advisers, he does not have a very high opinion of him personally, though he is devoted to the monarchy. He is one of the few senior army officers who are incorruptible. Speaks Russian and has a Russian wife.

165. Yazdi, Dr. Murtaza

Born about 1900. Educated in Germany where he is reported to have joined the Communist Party. Often represents Tudeh workers in negotiations between them and their employers. In early months of 1946 made a tour of the south and south-east in an effort to whip up Tudeh support and was responsible in large measure for the troubles in Isfahan in April of that year. A member of the Directing Committee of the Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society 1946. Minister of Health under Qavam-us-

Saltanah in August-October 1946 when he used his position to fill important posts in the Ministry with Tudeh members and sympathisers.

166. Zahidi, Fazlollah (Basir-i-Divan), Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born in Hamadan about 1883. His father was for many years in charge of the late Nasir-ul-Mulk's property at Hamadan. Joined the Constitutional movement and was wounded. Joined the Cossacks and thus came into contact with Reza Khan, under whom he served. Rose to the rank of general in 1921. Commanded the troops at Shiraz in 1922. In 1924 commanded the troops sent to Khuzistan, and helped to arrest the Sheikh of Mohammerah in 1925. Transferred to Resht in 1926, where he commanded the Northern Independent Brigade. Recalled to Tehran December 1928. Commanded the Road Guards 1929. Arrested and degraded for neglect of duty in 1929. Soon after he was pardoned and reinstated. Chief of police 1931. Relieved of this post after a few months owing to the escape of some prisoners from prison. Dismissed from the army in 1931. Turned his attention to business and became a partner in the "Kazadema" Ford agency. Reinstated in the rank of general 1932 and made A.D.C. to the Shah. Member of the Iranian commercial delegation to Russia in April 1935, and subsequently visited Central Europe.

Commanded troops at Isfahan 1942, and gradually took charge of all departments of Government; proof was found that he was working with the Germans, and he was arrested by British troops and taken out of Persia in the autumn of 1942. Released in 1945.

Appointed Inspector of the Forces of the South, July 1946.

More of a politician than a soldier. Made a good deal of money in Khuzistan. Being capable of generosity he was not unpopular with the troops under his command.

Married the daughter of Hussein Pirnia (Mo'tamen-ul-Mulk) in 1927, but divorced her and subsequently married one of the rich Ittehadieh family.

167. Zand, Ibrahim

Born about 1890. Educated at the Cadet College at St. Petersburg. Then sent to study law in France, where he was a contemporary and friend of Jawad Amery. Towards the end of the 1914-18 war became an active member of the Musawat party in Azerbaijan, and in 1919 became a member of the short-lived Azerbaijan Government. After its fall he went back to France, and a few years after returned to Persia, where Davar employed him in the Ministry of Justice as an adviser. He was subsequently transferred to the Ministry of Finance, and in 1938 became a member of the board of the National Bank. On the appointment of

A. H. Ebtehaj as director of that bank he left the bank and was employed at Court as Comptroller of the Royal accounts. Minister of War in Soheily's third Cabinet, December 1943. Minister of War in Sa'id's Cabinets, March and April, 1944, in Bayat's Cabinet, November 1944, Hakimi's Cabinet, May 1945 and Sadr's Cabinet June 1945. Suffers from ill-health and has made frequent trips to Palestine for treatment. A patriotic and honest man with a background of military training of the Russia of Tsarist days. Had sound ideas about eliminating corruption in the army but lacked courage to enforce his will.

Married to the sister of Farajullah Bahramy. Speaks Russian extremely well, probably better than Persian.

168. Zarin-Kafsh Ali Asghar

Born about 1885, of a Tehran family of Kurdish descent. Educated at the Political School in Tehran, and employed in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in subsidiary posts for several years. In 1923 and 1924 was head of a section of the Ministry and was always very courteous and helpful whenever referred to by members of this Embassy. Served as "chef de cabinet" to Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan Feroughi while the latter was Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was subsequently posted to Washington, where he spent more than a year as secretary to the Persian Legation. He was recalled to Tehran in about 1927, and served in the Ministry of Justice for a time under Davar, at the time when the Ministry was being fundamentally reformed. He was for a time a judge of the Cour de Cassation. He then was transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, where he was serving as Under-Secretary when the Minister of the Interior, Mirza Ali Khan Mansur, was transferred to the Ministry of Roads on the 26th January, 1933. From thenceforward he served as Acting Minister of the Interior until Feroughi's Cabinet was formed in September 1933.

Proceeded to England as commissioner of the Persian Government with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company in December 1933, with his wife and two children. Honorary counsellor to the legation in London 1937.

Returned to Persia December 1940. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice from 1941. Has always been helpful in settling cases and giving advice on points of Persian law. On Hikmat's resignation from Soheily's Cabinet in June 1943, became Acting Minister of Justice, but on the appointment of Sadr as Minister returned to the post of Under-Secretary. Minister of Finance 1944. Appointed chairman of Industrial and Mining Bank, February 1948.

Speaks English and French.

Zarin Kafsh is honest and socially most pleasant. In 1945 he joined the Iradeh-i-Milli party and has a very high regard for Sayyid Zia.

No. 14

SOVIET-PERSIAN RELATIONS

State Department on Proposed Denunciation of the Soviet-Persian Treaty of 1921

Sir O. Franks to Mr. Bevin. (Received 9th July)

(No. 3339. Secret) Washington,
(Telegraphic) July 8, 1948

Tehran telegram No. 535 to you and your telegram No. 389 to Tehran: Soviet-Persian Treaty of 1921.

State Department have asked United States Ambassador at Tehran to inform the Persian Government that for the following reasons the United States Government do

not consider that the 1921 treaty should be denounced:—

- (a) Some of the provisions are advantageous to Persia.
- (b) United States Government do not consider that article 6 permits the Soviet Government unilaterally to introduce forces into Persia.
- (c) The denunciation of the treaty at the present time might with some justification be considered by the Soviet Government as an unfriendly act.

(d) Public airing of Persian-Soviet differences might, in view of the general Soviet position in the world (questions of prestige in Berlin and Yugoslavia), provide rather than deter Soviet interference in Persian affairs.

2. State Department hope to give us very shortly their considered views on the questions raised in the letter from Burrows to Creswell referred to in Tehran telegram No. 535.

E 9424/2232/34

No. 15

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

MONTHLY REPORT FOR JUNE 1948

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 13th July)

(No. 240)
Sir,

Tehran, 6th July, 1948.

With reference to my despatch No. 209 of 9th June, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during the month of June 1948. The principal event was the change of Government at Tehran, M. Hajir succeeding M. Hakimi as Prime Minister in spite of considerable extra-parliamentary opposition which gave rise to demonstrations lasting several days. There were no outstanding developments in foreign affairs; frontier incidents with Soviet connivance continued on the Azerbaijan frontier.

Internal Situation

2. As forecast in my despatch under reference, M. Hakimi's Government did not survive for long. On 8th June M. Hakimi made his report to the Majlis, reviewing the period he had been in office and asking for a vote of confidence. In the division which followed he failed to obtain an absolute majority and his Government resigned. The defeat of the Government was followed by five days of indecision and intrigue, while the fractions debated the election of a new Prime Minister. Although there was no question of his taking office himself, the influence exercised by Qavam-us-Saltaneh was considerable, and it was widely believed that the new Prime Minister, whoever he might be, would lead a caretaker Government and

would withdraw whenever Qavam was ready to take office. The refusal of M. Suhaily to be considered as a candidate (he had recently been appointed Ambassador to France) narrowed the field to MM. Hajir, Muhammad Said and Bayat, and on 13th June M. Hajir was elected by 66 votes out of 120.

3. The announcement of M. Hajir's selection as Prime Minister provoked an outbreak of hostile demonstrations in Tehran. The active instigator of these was the mullah, Kashani, but the name of Sayyid Zia was widely associated with them. Beginning on 12th June, the disturbances culminated on 17th June, when a large crowd encountered soldiers and police outside the Majlis and several people were wounded. The Chief of Police had already issued a warning to rioters, and on 19th June the Prime Minister himself drew the attention of the public to the article of the Penal Code against incitement to disorder.

4. Meanwhile the Prime Minister had chosen his Cabinet, which was presented to the Shah on 21st June (see my despatch No. 229). Its members had for the most part held office in recent Cabinets, but the Prime Minister, like his predecessors, seemed to find the filling of his team a difficult task, and, as finally constituted, the Cabinet did not give an impression of uniformity or cohesion. It includes, however, several Ministers who are known to be pro-British in sympathy and progressive

in their ideas, and M. Hajir has expressed his determination to tackle the country's chief internal problems with all means at his disposal. The new Government's programme was announced on 22nd June. The declaration affirmed Persia's adherence to the charter and principles of the United Nations and her determination to safeguard her rights on all frontiers. The internal programme included measures for reducing the cost of living, increased local participation in Provincial Government, reform of the Administration, the implementation of the Seven-Year Plan, and the formation of a Persian company to exploit the petrol of the northern provinces. The Prime Minister referred to negotiations with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and to the question of Bahrein in his first press conference, but did not mention these questions by name in the Government's official declaration of policy.

5. The debate on the Government programme in the Majlis continued for several days, and though individual members did not hesitate to attack the Prime Minister, it became clear that the opposition to him was not strong. It also became known that the Shah was in favour of an early vote of confidence for the new Government. Outside the Majlis the name of Sayyid Zia faded from the headlines and Kashani's opposition confined itself to the religious newspapers, where an attempt was made to make the demonstrations of 17th June appear as no more than a peaceful religious procession. At the conclusion of the debate on 29th June, M. Hajir obtained eighty-eight votes out of a total of ninety-six Deputies present.

6. The suspension of activity during the change of Government reduced the legislative work of the Majlis to a minimum. In the first week in June many Deputies who were opposed to M. Hakimi's Government stayed away in order to prevent business being done, but on 8th June the Rice Bill was passed, with the inclusion of a clause, irrelevant to the main subject of the Bill, prohibiting importation by foreign traders. Thereafter there was a long and almost unbroken lull. Discussions on the Seven-Year Plan and on the Senate Bill continued in commission, and the Labour Law was reported to be ready for submission at the end of the month.

Foreign Affairs

7. Continued reports of frontier violations by the Russians kept the press and

public in a state of some anxiety at the beginning of the month. A frontier post on the Araxes River was reported to have been attacked on the night of 10th June, and there have been other attempts at infiltration. On 15th June a Soviet fighter aircraft made a forced landing at Bandar Gaz on the Caspian Coast. These incidents formed the subject of a note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Soviet Ambassador, who in his reply denied all knowledge of the incidents, for which he said the Soviet Government was in no way responsible. The negotiations with the Soviet Government for an agreement to regulate commercial exchanges during 1948-49 were brought to a standstill by the fall of the Hakimi Government.

8. In the first half of the month the Helmand River question figured largely in the press. Unfriendly references to Afghanistan provoked an open letter from the Afghan Ambassador, in which he tried to prove, by reference to a note from the Persian Embassy in Kabul, that too much water, and not too little, was flowing into Seistan. This attempt to make capital out of the spring floods only aggravated the situation, and many newspapers demanded a show of force on the Afghan border. After further discussion the Minister for Foreign Affairs issued a statement confirming that both Powers had submitted the dispute to the United States Government for arbitration.

9. Considerable progress was made in the negotiations between His Majesty's Government and the Persian Government regarding the settlement of claims between the two Governments arising from the war, in connexion with the use of the Persian railways and with damage inflicted on the Persian navy. Substantial agreement was reached on both these matters, and by the end of the month the negotiations were about to be concluded, in each case, by an exchange of notes. A new civil airline operating internal services in Persia—the Eagle Airlines—began operations during the month; it is under B.O.A.C. technical management and control.

10. The long-standing uncertainty about the exact scope and function of the United States Gendarmerie Mission has been brought to an end by an exchange of views between the United States Embassy and the Persian Government. The head of the mission, General Schwartzkopf, has now been transferred after five years' service in Persia and has been succeeded by Colonel

Pierce; the functions of the mission have been clearly defined as being purely advisory, and the executive command of the gendarmerie rests with the Persian Ministry of the Interior.

The Provinces

11. M. Taqizadeh (former Persian Ambassador in London), who is one of the Deputies for Tabriz, spent the first half of the month in his constituency, and on his return spoke in the Majlis on the situation in Azerbaijan. He contrasted the present unhappy state of the province with the prosperity he had known in the past. He urged that deportations to the south should be stopped, that the railway from Tehran to Tabriz should be completed, and that wealthy merchants and landowners should remember that it was their duty to return to their province. The announcement that one of the Ministers without Portfolio in the new Cabinet, Jalal Imami, has been given the special task of dealing with the affairs of Azerbaijan may mean that some of these abuses, which, to a lesser degree, are true of most of the provinces, may be remedied.

12. In the south there has been little activity. It is not yet clear whether General Ahmadi's visit to Fars and

Khuzistan has had any effect on the smugglers, but eight merchants have been arrested in Ahwaz and the Governor-General of Khuzistan has formed the company for selling grain at fixed prices, which was referred to in the Monthly Report for May. Highway robbery in Fars continues on a reduced scale, and on 12th June a bandit was publicly executed at Shiraz. The tribes have completed their move to summer quarters and the collection of arms continues at a leisurely pace.

13. In Isfahan the future of the Pashmbaf factory has not yet been decided. It is being run for the time being by a committee under the supervision of the Governor-General. No noticeable progress has been made with the Kuhrang irrigation scheme.

14. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo, Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy, Bagdad, United Kingdom High Commissioners at Karachi and New Delhi, and to all His Majesty's consular officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

M. J. CRESWELL.

E 10050/1006/34

No. 16

VISIT OF THE SHAH OF PERSIA TO LONDON

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 27th July)

(No. 253)
Sir,

*Tehran,
20th July, 1948.*

In confirmation of my telegram No. 604, I have the honour to report that the Shah left Tehran on 18th July for his visit to London.

2. There has been considerable opposition in the country to the Shah's proposed journey, and it was not until 12th July that His Majesty took a definite decision to proceed with it nevertheless. Though this opposition may have been due in some degree to the activities of those who were interested in disturbing the good relations between Persia and His Majesty's Government, and in some degree also to opponents of the dynasty who expected that the Shah's position would be strengthened by this visit, the majority who opposed it did so for reasons of genuine concern about the internal political situation here and for the

welfare of the Shah, and because they sought to avoid the additional responsibility which would fall upon them during His Majesty's absence.

3. In particular, members of the Government were apprehensive of a repetition of the intrigues and demonstrations against the Prime Minister which, as I reported in my despatch No. 229, occurred in the middle of last month, and both the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs seemed anxious that the journey should be postponed until a later date in the belief that conditions might be quieter in two or three months' time. In the two interviews described in my telegram No. 568 of 12th July I did my best to assuage their misgivings and pointed out, as I believed to be the case, that there was no reason to think that political conditions would be any

better in two or three months than they are at present. I also made it clear to them that The King's invitation having been extended for a definite date and having been accepted in principle, it could not be assumed that this invitation would be repeated on a later occasion if the Shah were now prevented from travelling. Consultations between the Government and the court continued throughout the morning of 12th July, and at about 4 p.m. of the same afternoon the Shah caused me to be informed of his intention to carry out the visit as planned.

4. A considerable amount of opposition had also made itself felt in the Majlis. The Shah, learning of this, not only conveyed his decision to the President of the Majlis in a private audience on the morning of 13th July, but also summoned all the Deputies to the palace at Saadabad at 6 p.m. the same evening in order to announce his decision. Before the Deputies were received by His Majesty, the Majlis held a secret session to discuss the journey. Though there were one or two criticisms of the method thus adopted by the Shah of communicating his decision to the Chamber, the Majlis as a whole proved docile and, as so often happens in this country, the voices which had formerly been raised in doubt and opposition now contributed to the chorus of adulation and praise once the Shah's decision had been made known. Nevertheless, I think that, had the Shah not taken a firm decision on 12th July, the opposition to his journey would have increased. It is also true that had the Government of M. Hakimi not been replaced by that of M. Hajir in June, and had the new Government not been able to reinforce its position as it did by obtaining an overwhelming vote of confidence, the Shah's absence from this country at this time would not have been possible.

5. I have given you this brief description of the political background here in order to clarify the reasons for the Shah's apparent sensitiveness on certain points of a protocol nature which, though having little importance in themselves, made it possible for the journey to be represented in a more favourable light to the Majlis and to the public. For instance, both before and since the Shah's departure the newspapers have made much of the fact that His Majesty's visit to London took place on the personal invitation of His Majesty The King. Had he been unable to say this, I feel certain that it would not have been

possible for the Shah to make the journey. The Shah's interest in the actual ceremony of reception at Northolt and his first decision to leave Tehran in his own aeroplane, only transferring to the York aircraft provided by His Majesty's Government when the party reached Malta, are also attributable to the same causes. I am glad to say, however, that both these questions were satisfactorily solved, and that the Shah decided to travel all the way in the York after I had made it clear both to the Prime Minister and to members of His Majesty's household that a departure from here in an aircraft other than that provided by His Majesty's Government would both put us in a difficult position as regards responsibility for His Majesty's safety during the journey, and might also appear somewhat ungracious in London since His Majesty's Government had offered the aircraft at the taxpayers' expense.

6. In the last week there has also been a certain amount of uncertainty about the composition of the Council of Regency. This was finally announced in an Imperial Firman dated 15th July, and will consist of the three elder princes, brothers of the Shah—Ali Reza, Ghulam Reza and Abdul Reza—of the Prime Minister and the Speaker of the Majlis, and of M. Hakimi and M. Mohammed Saed (former Prime Ministers), Sayid Mohammed Sadegh Tabatabai (a former Speaker of the Majlis), and General Amir Ahmadi, Minister of War. Meetings will be attended also by M. Sami'i (Master of Ceremonies at the Court), and the function of the council is defined as being the study of important questions of national policy at the request of the Government, with the responsibility of communicating rapidly with the Shah himself on matters requiring an urgent decision. Legislation will apparently receive the Royal assent only after reference to the Shah by the Council of Regency.

7. In spite of his request that his departure from the aerodrome should not be a ceremonial occasion, the Shah was seen off by a gathering of several hundred Deputies and members of the Government with their under-secretaries. Various speeches were made before the aircraft took off at about 5 a.m. The Diplomatic Corps were not present as a body, but the French and Italian Ambassadors and the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires as representatives of the countries which the Shah is due to visit, as well as myself and members of the staff of His

Majesty's Embassy, were present at the aerodrome.

8. I feel confident that the Shah's visit will do much good both to the relations between the two countries and to His Majesty's position in this country. After the original wave of criticism had spent itself the journey seems to be popular here, and the press has made much of the Shah's journey "to the country which is the home of social justice and individual freedom." It has also emphasised the coincidence of the journey with the opening of the Olympic Games and His Majesty's interest in sport, while denying that the journey was being undertaken for political motives. It will provide an opportunity for the Shah to attain a degree of detachment from the

day-to-day problems of this country, and to learn much of post-war developments and present-day political trends. He will also be able to supplement his knowledge of the theory of Western European constitutions with a direct acquaintance with the actual working of a constitutional monarchy, with which he has hitherto had no direct contact. He will thus be able to return, in a few weeks' time, in a better state of mind to deal with the problems of this country.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

M. J. CRESWELL.

F. 10567/2232/34

No. 17

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

MONTHLY REPORT FOR JULY 1948

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 11th August)

(No. 261)

Sir,

Tehran,

3rd August, 1948

With reference to my despatch No. 240 of 6th July, I have the honour to submit the following report on developments in Persia during the month of July 1948. The principal event of the month was the departure of the Shah for Europe: the Government continued to prepare legislation for submission to the Majlis and was occupied, in particular, with the preparation of the Budget: there were no developments in foreign affairs beyond a sounding made by the Soviet Ambassador regarding the policy of the new Government.

Foreign Affairs

2. In 1st July, in the course of a courtesy call on the Prime Minister after the formation of his Government, the Soviet Ambassador outlined the terms upon which the Soviet Government would be prepared to settle outstanding questions with the Persian Government. He said that the questions of the return to Persia of the Bank-i-Melli gold, of the Customs claims arising from the war and the cessation of frontier incidents and hostile propaganda from the Soviet side were minor matters which could easily be settled if the Persian Government were prepared to give Moscow some satisfaction in the form of a

"gesture" to restore Soviet prestige in connexion with the rejection last autumn of the proposal for forming a Soviet-Persian oil company, and if the Persian Government were prepared to terminate the activities of the United States Military and Gendarmerie Missions. The Prime Minister consulted the United States Government and His Majesty's Government, who were in agreement that Persia's attitude to this approach should be one of firmness, that the Prime Minister should demand the satisfaction of the gold and Customs claims, and the cessation of frontier incidents as of right and should not be led on to discuss the wider political issues raised: but that there would be no objection to the opening of negotiations for an agreement to cover current commercial exchanges. This advice was given to M. Hajir in the middle of the month; the matter was, however, pursued no further, as the Prime Minister did not wish to reopen it by summoning the Soviet Ambassador again. It was rumoured at the end of the month that M. Sadtchikov would shortly return to Moscow, whither he had been recalled for consultation. In the course of the month the Soviet Consul-General at Resht, and the Soviet Consuls at Ahwaz and Kermanshah, all left their posts for leave or consultation; and a further

sign of a change in Soviet policy was the closing down of the Russian school in Tehran and the Irano-Soviet Cultural Society.

3. There appears to have been an unexpected hitch in connexion with the delivery to Persia of United States armaments under the Arms Credit Agreement. The difficulties connected with the payment of packing and transport charges (see Tehran despatches Nos. 70 and 151) appear to have arisen afresh owing to unwillingness on the American side to meet these charges in addition to the cost of the very great reduction in prices quoted in connexion with the sale of the arms themselves.

4. The Helmand river dispute did not develop further during July, but it is noteworthy that the "show of force" mentioned in paragraph 8 of my despatch under reference was duly forthcoming in the second half of June. Fifteen Hurricanes of the Hurricane Regiment were moved to Zahidan, ostensibly to carry out gunnery and bombing practice. The Chief of the Persian General Staff confirmed to the military attaché that one of the objects of this exercise was to impress the Afghans, whose Air Force is reported to consist largely of Ansons. Independently of the American proposal for a neutral commission to settle this question, bilateral discussions are to be resumed between the Persian and Afghan Governments.

Internal Situation

5. News of the impending departure of the Shah from the country for his visit to the United Kingdom and Western Europe gave rise to a certain amount of opposition, both on the part of the Government, who were nervous of the additional responsibility which would devolve upon them during His Majesty's absence, and on the part of a number of deputies, some of whom may have been moved by reasons of hostility to British policy or to the dynasty, though in most cases their opposition was due to nothing more than vague nervousness and anxiety. The Shah was himself careful to pay due consideration to these feelings, and after detailed consultation with the Government on the internal situation in the country, in which the possibility of a postponement of the visit was mentioned, he made an announcement on 12th July about his forthcoming departure on 18th July and summoned the members of the Majlis to the Saadabad Palace on the following day in order to explain his decision

to them. In the event, once the public had been notified of the visit, reactions were far from unfavourable and the press as a whole welcomed his journey to London both as a contribution to the improvement of Anglo-Persian relations and as a means of making the Shah more closely acquainted with the democratic and Parliamentary traditions of the United Kingdom.

6. After the successful vote of confidence reported in paragraph 5 of my despatch under reference, the position of the Government is thought to have weakened slightly, as many of its critics are believed to hold the view that Mr. Hajir has been trying to please all the deputies all the time. His action in appeasing the Mullahs by imposing strong police measures as regards Ramazan has been specially criticised. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the Government still has a substantial majority and it has settled down to the preparation of various legislative measures which will shortly be brought before the Majlis. The most important of these is the first complete Budget which will have been submitted to the Parliament in the last four years, previous Governments having lived from hand to mouth by adopting the expedient of making monthly votes equivalent to one-twelfth of the annual budget. The Senate Bill and the Labour Law are also expected to be submitted to the Majlis in the course of the next few weeks. Finally, the Commission entrusted with the study of the Seven-Year Plan has pursued its labours and it is expected that the Bill will be submitted to Parliament in the course of a month or so. Though there were at one time doubts of the Government's keenness and sincerity over this matter, I understand that detailed discussions between the Prime Minister and the protagonists of the plan in the latter half of the month succeeded in convincing the latter that M. Hajir does, in fact, mean to put the plan forward with sufficient eagerness and energy.

7. New Government regulations for the allocations of foreign exchange for imports were announced on 28th July. The Majlis has also approved a Government measure exempting from the provisions of the article in the Rice Bill restricting the activity of foreign traders (see my despatch No. 240) all goods which had been ordered but had not yet been passed through the Customs when that Bill was approved. The Bill itself has given rise to protests from many foreign diplomatic missions whose

nationals were affected by it, and retaliatory action has been taken by the Swedish Government against Persian traders in Sweden.

The Provinces

8. The proposal to grant an amnesty to persons implicated in the Azerbaijan Democrat régime, and to allow those who have been deported to the south to return to Azerbaijan has created some anxiety in that province. The authorities there feel that the law and order which they have precariously enforced for the last eighteen months is not likely to survive the return of the Muhajirs, and they regret that M. Taqizadeh, and more recently Dr. Martin Daffari have, in their speeches in the Majlis, painted an unjustifiably gloomy picture of Azerbaijan. These feelings have to some extent offset the good impression made by the appointment of a Minister responsible for Azerbaijan and the hope that the new Government was getting to the heart of the matter when, on 15th July, the Governor-General, Ali Mansur, was recalled to Tehran. It is reported that he is to be succeeded by the present Minister of Court, Mahmud Jam, when the latter returns from Europe.

9. In Khuzistan the Governor-General continues to keep a watchful eye on Tudeh activities. At Khorramshahr Rear-Admiral Zelli and the local governors have formed a committee for this purpose, but rumours that the second anniversary of the oil workers' strike on 14th July would be marked by disturbances proved groundless. Although their visible activities have recently amounted to little more than the distribution of pamphlets, the Tudeh Party in Khuzistan have succeeded in creating a feeling of uncertainty among the authorities. Both the number of meetings and the attendance of the Central Union of Oil Workers have dropped in recent weeks. Public security is reported to be bad near Khurramabad, in Luristan, but to be good elsewhere in south-west Persia.

10. For some time the Javanrudi, one of the more turbulent Kurdish tribes, who inhabit an area north-west of Kermanshah, have been giving trouble. They have encouraged smuggling across the Iraqi frontier, they have taken illegal toll from travellers and, in contrast to neighbouring tribes, have not contributed materially to the Government's measures of tribal dis-

armament. During the second week of July the G.O.C., Kermanshah, ordered some five hundred troops to the tribal area. He hoped to bring the Javanrudi to heel by peaceful means, and employed three aircraft to drop leaflets, but when one of these was fired on he decided to use force. One of the loyal neighbouring tribes was called on to co-operate with the Persian army, largely with the object of preventing the escape of the Javanrudi across the border into Iraq. With the aid of this tribe two military columns succeeded in bringing the Javanrudi leaders to heel after a brief engagement in which a few tribesmen were killed. Four military garrisons, each of about battalion strength, are now to be established in Javanrudi country to supervise the handing in of arms by the tribe and to remain until conditions have entirely quietened down.

11. In the Bakhtiari country there has been a brush between two minor tribes—the Mahmud Saleh and the Mamivand—over pasturage rights. This incident has increased the determination of the military to disarm the Muhmud Saleh, who are reported still to possess between 2,000 and 3,000 rifles.

12. Prospects for next spring's harvest are causing anxiety. In Khuzistan the Governor-General continues his consultation with the grain company, and hopes on the one hand to obtain help from the northern provinces, and on the other hand to prevent the leakage of wheat to Iraq and Kuwait, which still continues in spite of recent measures. In the irrigated parts of Northern Khorassan the harvest promises to be good, but speculators have already started buying forward at high prices, relying on there being a bad harvest in Southern Khorassan and Seistan. A Wheat Commission has been formed by the Governor-General of Khorassan to devise a means of preventing the harvest from being cornered by the northern landlords for their own profit.

13. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo; to Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy, Bagdad; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at Karachi and New Delhi; and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

M. J. CRESWELL.

VISIT OF THE SHAH OF PERSIA TO THE UNITED KINGDOM

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 176)

Foreign Office,

Sir, 12th August, 1948.

As I have already informed your Excellency in my telegram No. 478 of 1st August, the Shah of Persia left the United Kingdom for the second part of his visit to France, Switzerland and Italy on Sunday, 1st August. He was seen off from Northolt by Lord Mountbatten on behalf of The King, and was flown to Paris in an R.A.F. aircraft provided by the Air Ministry. It has been arranged that this York aircraft will later be flown to Rome at the end of the Shah's continental tour to take him and his suite back to Tehran.

2. The visit which has just ended marks the first time a ruler of Persia has visited the United Kingdom since the official visit of Ahmed Shah Qajar in 1919 and the present Shah is the first of the Pahlavi dynasty to visit this country and to be invited to be the guest of His Majesty The King. Although the initiative for the visit came from the Shah himself, the suggestion was welcomed by His Majesty's Government. Public and official opinion in Persia was not wholly in favour of the visit, largely owing to a genuine concern about the internal political situation in Persia and for the welfare of the Shah. This opposition was, however, overcome by the Shah's own firmness, helped by his declaration that his visit to London was being made at the personal invitation of The King. In the event the Shah, after leaving the Palace to stay at the Persian Embassy, became the guest of His Majesty's Government and his visit was therefore a semi-private one.

3. The Shah had originally intended to fly to the United Kingdom in his own B 17 aircraft and had asked for an R.A.F. pilot and navigator to assist him on the journey. The Air Ministry were, however, unable to accept this request owing to a shortage of R.A.F. personnel experienced on this American-type aircraft. As it was considered that the Shah's previous experience as a pilot was insufficient to guarantee his safety on a trans-continental flight without such expert assistance, the Air Ministry agreed to provide an R.A.F. V.I.P. York aircraft, which had been used previously

by the Duke of Gloucester, to fly the Shah and the immediate members of his suite to the United Kingdom. The remaining members of the Shah's party were accommodated in the Shah's own aircraft, which flew in convoy with the York.

4. The Shah left Tehran on 18th July and, after a stop of two nights at Malta, where he was the guest of the Governor, arrived at the R.A.F. aerodrome, Northolt, on the afternoon of 20th July. The Shah was met at the aerodrome by the Duke of Gloucester on behalf of the King and, after inspecting a Guard of Honour mounted by the R.A.F., drove to Buckingham Palace, where he was met by The King and Queen. The King's Guard, formed by the Coldstream Guards, with the King's Colour and Band of the Regiment, was mounted in the quadrangle of the Palace and was inspected by the Shah on arrival. The Shah was the guest of Their Majesties until 22nd July and was invested with the Royal Victorian Chain at the dinner party given in his honour by The King on 21st July. On the following morning the Shah gave The King the Order of Pahlavi, First Class (Nishan-Pahlavi) with Collar. After visiting the House of Commons, where he was introduced to Members by the Deputy Speaker, and attending Their Majesties' Garden Party on 22nd July, the Shah left the Palace for the Persian Embassy, where he stayed for the rest of his visit. The remaining members of the Shah's suite were accommodated at Claridges.

5. The Shah's programme for the remainder of the visit was a busy one, as is apparent from the attached copy⁽¹⁾ of the programme printed for his visit. The Prime Minister gave a dinner party for the Shah on 21st July, and as I expected to be absent, it was arranged that the Lord President should give a reception for the Shah on behalf of His Majesty's Government on 30th July. The Shah was also entertained to luncheon at the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor of London and the Lady Mayoress. Although no formal discussions were held, the Shah had an opportunity for informal talks with most of the members of the Government at these various functions. The Shah also visited

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's Research Station at Sunbury, the Bristol Aircraft Factory and Oxford University, where he spent the day as the guest of the Vice-Chancellor. Apart from these official visits, arrangements were made for the Shah to be present at Goodwood, where, as a fortunate coincidence, one of the winners backed by him was named "Iran." The Shah also saw several theatres and was taken out to supper afterwards, where, to the surprise of the suite, he danced in public.

6. The Shah spent one day with each of the three Services and I shall be writing to you separately about the results of these visits. It is, however, of interest that all three Service representatives have reported independently that they were greatly impressed by the Shah's technical knowledge, his grasp of the strategic values of modern warfare and his well-balanced views on the possible rôle of the Persian armed forces. The favourable impression made by the Shah was not confined to the Service representatives alone, and his modesty, sound judgment, energy and interest in current affairs were remarked upon by all those who came in contact with him.

7. Although it is perhaps too early to assess the long-term value of the Shah's

visit, it can confidently be said that it has helped towards a proper appreciation of the policy of His Majesty's Government in Persia, and thus to the improvement of relations between the two countries. The Shah's stay at the Palace, his visit to the House of Commons, and the opportunities which he has had to meet members of the Government, leading officials and other eminent public figures will have also given him an insight into the working of a constitutional monarchy in practice. The visit has also enabled the Shah to take a short respite from the particular difficulties of his position in Tehran and given him an opportunity to obtain a free exchange of ideas with disinterested persons. His comparative freedom from the ceremony of the Persian Court and the welcome with which he has been received both publicly and privately will have also contributed, I hope, to the Shah's personal enjoyment and have helped to strengthen those personal relations with the Shah on which we place so much importance.

8. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

E 10821/1087/34

No. 19

POLITICAL SITUATION IN AZERBAIJAN, 1st JANUARY-30th JUNE, 1948

Consul-General Pott to Mr. Bevin. (Received 17th August)

(No. 22)

Tabriz, 24th July, 1948.

Sir, During the period under review Soviet activities and propaganda continued to keep the population of Azerbaijan in a state of tension. Soviet intervention in the province was genuinely feared in the light of events in Czechoslovakia and later in Berlin. These Soviet preoccupations, however, and Soviet designs elsewhere in the world, combined with the absence of any organised pro-Soviet movement in Azerbaijan, seem to have contributed to sparing the province and to have allowed it to recede, at any rate for the present, still further into the background of the world scene.

2. Within Persia attention was also focussed on the province by the Shah's visit to Tabriz at the end of March and M. Taqizadeh's account of his tour of the

province in May. Besides M. Taqizadeh, other Deputies from Azerbaijan voiced in the Majlis local dissatisfaction with the administration, but all failed to carry the population with them in their proposals for a general amnesty for those implicated in the Azerbaijan revolt.

3. A high standard of public security was maintained and such subversive activities as took place were kept underground. The many landowners and merchants who saw no future in Azerbaijan during the Russian occupation and the Democrat régime and left for Tehran found no strong, stable central Government such as might have induced them to return to the province. The economic life of the province, which they could have revived in some measure, remained more or less moribund. No crises, however—in fact nothing of great moment took place. The public

expressed no very strong feelings on any subject. Such unemployment as there was did not obtrude itself. That no mischief occurred from within the province is due as much to the loyalty, patience and resignation of the Azerbaijani as to the existence of martial law and to the efforts of the Administration.

4. Soviet protests about the employment of American military instructors and advisers in Persia condemned the United States-Persian Agreement of 1947 as a breach of Persia's obligations under the Perso-Soviet Treaty of 1921. Simultaneous attacks by the Soviet propaganda machine on alleged American military activities in Azerbaijan and an alleged proposal for the grant to the United States of an oil concession in Northern Persia caused apprehension in the province. It was feared that the U.S.S.R., sooner or later, would invoke articles 5 and 6 of the 1921 treaty with a view to justifying a military reoccupation of the province in the interests of her security. After an interval, there was renewed and increased apprehension at the news of repeated violations of the Azerbaijan frontier, with Soviet connivance, by armed irregulars, large numbers of whom had been seen from Persian territory. These incidents took the form of probings of the frontier by night, and clashes occurred with Persian frontier posts. At the same time the clandestine Azerbaijan Democrat radio in Trans-Caucasia continued to promise the early "liberation" of the province and the setting up of a "National Government." But all this Soviet activity proved to be part of a war of nerves. Persian protests were made, and by the end of June the incidents appeared to have stopped.

5. The Shah's visit to Tabriz, which was one of a series of visits to various towns in Persia, was on the occasion of the finals of the national football and basket-ball championships. It evoked further proof, if proof was needed, of the devotion of the Azerbaijani to the Persian Crown. It was also the means of bringing home to the Government local dissatisfaction with the administration. There were many complaints regarding the Governor-General, Ali Mansur, and it was thought that he would be recalled. The high cost of living and unemployment were the main grievances. Prices of most local produce in this relatively fertile province were excessive owing to the large margin of profit. Public works provided employment for too few. Although it would be an

exaggeration to say, as M. Taqizadeh said, that the streets of Tabriz were thronged with beggars, there is no doubt that large numbers of unemployed and casually employed in the towns and the countryside subsist near starvation level. In Tabriz begging by unemployed is for the most part done discreetly from door to door, and alms are freely given in true Muslim fashion. Lack of snow at one time gave rise to real fears, which were exploited by Soviet propaganda, that the wheat and barley harvests would fail. But there was at no time any serious lack of bread (and harvest prospects proved in the end to be excellent). These conditions, however, were not unique to Azerbaijan. They existed elsewhere in the provinces in Persia. The difference was that the Azerbaijani felt that he was not receiving the special consideration from the central Government to which he believed himself entitled by reason of his exposed position and the help he had given to the Government in the liberation of the province. He remained peaceable and inarticulate, but his loyalty, it seemed to him, was taken too much for granted.

6. None was more anxious than the Azerbaijani himself, even the absentee landlord or merchant sitting in Tehran, to forget the Azerbaijan "affair" and to strive to return to the prosperity he had once known. But he could see in the "northern neighbour's" behaviour elsewhere in the world no hope of a return to normal conditions. It was with misgiving and dismay, therefore, that the population and the local Persian civil and military authorities heard the Azerbaijan Deputies, who had already called for a stop to be put to the deportations to the south, plead for a general amnesty for those compatriots who had betrayed their country (whether or not they had acted through fear or ignorance) and for the return to the province of the politically unreliable elements banished to the south. If these proposals, and M. Taqizadeh's proposal for the abolition of martial law, are approved by the Majlis, it is difficult to see (even assuming that those who took a leading part in the Azerbaijan revolt and those guilty of murder and looting are not amnestied) how an increase in subversive activity and a beginning of civil disorder can be prevented in Azerbaijan. It would seem that all the improvements in the administration recommended by M. Taqizadeh and other Azerbaijan Deputies, including the removal of restrictions on political liberty, the elimination of corrupt

officials, the delegation of wider powers to the provincial authorities, the execution of capital construction and public works schemes and the reopening of trade routes could never, in the aggregate, offset the disadvantage of having back in the province a Soviet Fifth Column of Azerbaijan Democrats and "muhajirs" whose numbers would be swelled by their brethren now lying in hiding. Unemployed and other discontented elements who had hitherto been restrained by the existence of martial law might well, in the end, be suborned by the propaganda of Soviet-sponsored demagogues. The smouldering embers would indeed be kindled again.

7. It now remains to be seen, however, what action will be taken with regard to Azerbaijan by the new Government of M. Hazhir. The Azerbaijanis are unenthusiastic on the subject as they deplore the fall of M. Hakimi, who enjoyed undoubted popularity amongst them as an Azerbaijani and an honest politician. So far, at least, M. Hazhir has made the gesture of appointing a Minister without Portfolio, Jamal Imami, a member of a well-known religious family of Azerbaijan, to supervise the affairs of the province.

I have, &c.

LESLIE POTT.

E 11135/25/34

No. 20

PERSIA: ADMINISTRATION OF M. HAJIR'S GOVERNMENT

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 24th August)

(No. 275)

Sir,

Tehran, 13th August, 1948.

When Hajir's Government received, on 29th June, a vote of confidence by 88 votes to 6 (as reported by Mr. Creswell in his telegram No. 521), the prospects both of political stability for some time to come and even of some progress in administration and economic reform seemed to be good. The relative calm of the last month has, however, been caused more by apathy and the hot weather than by a sense of security, and the reforms have not yet left the paper on which they are written.

2. A number of parliamentary commissions have been charged with the investigation of certain branches of the Administration. One is dealing with reform of municipalities, one with general questions of justice, and a commission composed of the Under-Secretaries has been meeting at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to discuss the selection of personnel. M. Pirnazar, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has been the target of considerable criticism in the press, and the announcement that the counsellor and first secretary of the Persian Legation in Brussels had been removed has not increased public confidence in the civil service.

3. There has also been criticism of the appointment of two Under-Secretaries to assist the Prime Minister himself. One of these, M. Moaddil, has the title of Parliamentary Assistant and the duty of answering for the Prime Minister in the Majlis.

He is also charged with the general supervision of the Press and Propaganda Office, which is directed by M. Faripur. The other is M. Jehangir Tafazuli, brother of the proprietor of *Iran Ma*. Although described as Political Assistant, his duties are not clear, but he is known to be on good terms with the Russians and is believed to be employed to guide the Prime Minister in his relations with Left-wing politicians. The interviews which the Soviet Ambassador has recently had with the Prime Minister have provoked lively comment, but no details are available. Before his departure on leave the Soviet Ambassador was accorded the unusual honour of a luncheon at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

4. A further step towards internal reform was a letter of the Prime Minister's to all Governors-General, published on 31st July, calling a conference to discuss the protection of home industries, and to fix a proper proportion between the cost of agricultural produce destined for the factories and the finished products of industry. Owners and workers of all concerns employing more than 100 workpeople were to be represented. At the same time the Prime Minister announced that another conference would be held to study agricultural questions and the relation between landowners' profits and the share of the cultivator. The Minister of Agriculture, M. Bushihri, has announced his intention of purchasing agricultural machinery from abroad, and suggested that greater use be

made of oil as fuel in order to arrest the serious deforestation of the Caspian provinces.

5. After his election the Prime Minister made the budget his personal concern, and as a result of his efforts it was approved by the commission on 1st July and a draft was published, but it has not yet been debated in the Majlis, and on 24th July another provisional twelfth was approved.

6. The Labour Bill is second only to the budget in importance. Until it becomes law, and until the position of the Ministry of Labour is regularised and a Minister appointed, there can be no prospect of a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employees. The original Bill of some fifty articles has twice been redrafted and is now reduced to twenty-one articles, but the passage of a Bill of this length still seems to look too much like hard work for the present Majlis. A budget of 20 million rials for the Ministry of Labour has been approved by the Budget Commission, and the Under-Secretary, M. Habib Naficy, has formed a commission of factory inspectors which will supervise the activities of factory inspectors all over the country.

7. The Majlis has done practically nothing. In the first half of July the special commission to investigate charges of corruption against Qavam-us-Saltaneh reported in his favour by 3 votes to 2. When this verdict was announced it created an uproar in the Majlis. The next step was that the report of the special commission should be referred to the Commission of the Ministry of Justice, and this was known to favour Qavam. His opponents, after angrily expressing their opinion that the whole affair was illegal, left the Majlis and again absented themselves from the session of 15th July, where their absence prevented public business being done. On 18th July there was again no session as most of the Deputies were present at the airport at 4 a.m. when the Shah departed for Europe. At the following sessions a law was passed allowing foreign traders to import any goods which were already on the way at the time the law of 8th July came into force, a provisional one-twelfth of the budget was also approved, and on 25th July the Minister for Foreign Affairs made a statement about the Shatt-el-Arab and announced that negotiations were in progress with the Iraqi Government for a permanent settlement of the boundary dispute. The Majlis then adjourned until 8th

August. Two sessions have been held since the recess, and at neither of them was there a quorum.

8. The Fast of Ramazan was this year enforced by the Government with unusual severity. The most vociferous opposition to M. Hajir's election as Prime Minister came from the religious leaders, and it was perhaps to be expected that he would take steps to assure them of his orthodoxy and devotion to Islam. M. Hakimi's Government had already appointed a commission to make proposals for the restriction of the sale of alcohol, and on 3rd July a decree was issued prohibiting its sale at the religious centres of Meshed, Qum and Rey. This was followed two days later by a police order prohibiting during Ramazan the sale of alcoholic drinks and the sale of food in restaurants during the hours of daylight. Except in the case of the three hotels frequented by foreigners, which were allowed to serve meals, these regulations have been enforced.

9. On 26th July a decree of the Council of Ministers was published altering the exchange control regulations. Under this decree the control exercised by the Bank Melli is increased, and its effect should be to narrow the gap between the official and free market rates of exchange. It has been attacked as unpatriotic by those who believe that all Persia's problems could be solved by the enforcement of a rate of 60 rials to the £.

10. There is evidence that the Government intends to do something about the provinces. The Bill for the creation of provincial universities has been approved in commission, and the Prime Minister has issued instructions to Governors-General about the collection of the harvest. M. Jamal Imami, the Minister without Portfolio charged with the affairs of Azerbaijan, made a statement to the press on 2nd August, in which he announced that a trade route had been opened from Tabriz to the Mediterranean and that measures were being taken by the Government to improve local communications, to facilitate the issue of licences to Azerbaijan merchants and to grant a credit of 10 million rials for Tabriz University. The proposal for a general amnesty for those concerned in Pishevari's Democrat Government has also been widely discussed, and, it is believed, will shortly come into force. Although proposed by the Majlis Deputies for Azerbaijan, it is viewed with some

disquiet by those responsible for keeping law and order in the province.

11. The inactivity of M. Hajir's Government has disappointed the country. No organised opposition to it has yet emerged, but the press is now increasingly critical. Sayed Zia is still believed to be in contact with Ayatullah Kashani, but even if they went seriously into political partnership it is doubtful whether such a union of opposites could achieve anything constructive. The return of Qavam-us-Saltaneh has taken away Sayed Zia's chances of the leadership of a reformed Democrat Party, but Qavam himself still seems content to remain in the background—perhaps secure in the knowledge that without the votes of

his party Hajir would not have come to power. Abbas Iskandari, who led the small minority which voted against both Hakimi and Hajir, put down a written interpellation on 20th July on the old subjects of Bahrein and the southern oil, but this has not yet been debated in the Majlis, and when it is there is no reason to suppose that Iskandari will be able to command more than the same handful of Russophile Deputies.

12. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington and Moscow, and to the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 11395/1006/34

No. 21

LOCAL REACTIONS TO THE VISIT OF THE SHAH OF PERSIA TO LONDON

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 31st August)

(No. 282)

Tehran.

25th August, 1948.

Sir,

I have received reports from His Majesty's consular officers in Persia regarding local reactions to the visit of the Shah to England. These reports were written in response to Mr. Creswell's instructions at the time, in which he particularly asked for news of any attempt to stir up trouble during His Majesty's absence. In the event, the situation throughout the country has remained quiet except for occasional disturbances connected with the cost of living, which would probably have occurred in any case.

2. Perhaps the most striking feature of these reports is that public opinion on the whole seems to have taken the visit as a matter of course, and except among the merchants of Shiraz there was no apprehension, such as was felt in Tehran, that the situation might get out of hand. It was generally assumed that the visit would have political results, but there were many theories as to what those results might be. In Meshed, for example, it was hoped that after seeing how true democracy worked in

Great Britain the Shah would put an end to corruption in Persia. But the less optimistic view has also been expressed, that the people's hopes for an end to corruption in Persian politics would be defeated, and that opinion would then react violently not only against the Shah but against His Majesty's Government.

3. It has been freely said (notably at Isfahan, Kermanshah and Tabriz) that the visit would result in closer relations between Great Britain and Persia and the strengthening of the latter's position *vis-à-vis* the Russians. In some cases the pleasure which this thought afforded was qualified by the fear that the attitude of the Russians might stiffen correspondingly. From Isfahan comes the report that some people (whom His Majesty's consul describes as partisans of a neutral foreign policy rather than supporters of the Tudeh Party) considered that the Shah should now pay a visit to Moscow.

I have, &c.

(For the Ambassador).

M. J. CRESWELL.

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

Monthly Report for August 1948

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 15th September)

(No. 294)

Tehran, 6th September, 1948.

Sir,
With reference to Tehran despatch No. 261 of 3rd August, I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during the month of August 1948. There were no further developments of note in relations between Persia and the Soviet Union; the Shah concluded his successful tour of Europe with visits to France, Switzerland and Italy, and returned to Tehran on 27th August; and the Majlis, after a recess of fifteen days during Ramazan, had some lively sessions and passed a further vote of confidence to the Government. There was little sign, however, that M. Najir was meeting with success in his campaign for lowering the cost of living, and in the second half of the month shortage of grain gave rise to discontent in the provinces.

Foreign Affairs

2. The Soviet Ambassador left Tehran for the U.S.S.R. on leave on 11th August. Before his departure, M. Sadchikov had a further conversation with the Prime Minister on similar lines to that of 1st July. He still insisted that some gesture must be made by the Persian Government to atone for the cancellation of the Oil Agreement, but was less precise than before on what form the gesture should take. It also seems possible that a new commercial understanding acceptable to both sides may be concluded, and negotiations are continuing. Immediately after the Soviet Ambassador's departure, however, a deputation of the Tudeh Party waited on M. Hajir and presented him with a list of political measures which they considered essential for the restoration of internal and external stability. These demands were much as would have been expected had they been dictated, as M. Hajir believes they were, by the Soviet Embassy. They included the total suspension of martial law, withdrawal of American military advisers, cancellation of the agreement of 3rd October, 1947, withdrawal of the Bill for the formation of a Senate, and abstention from borrowing from abroad, as well as the general protests against interference with

the freedom of press and speech, and lack of measures to assist the labouring classes. It now appears certain that there is being a general withdrawal of all Soviet personnel not considered essential, and besides the withdrawals mentioned in paragraph 2 of my despatch under reference, all Soviet children are being returned to the U.S.S.R. for schooling. There has, however, been a lull in the frontier incidents.

3. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, in an official note, again raised the question of the status of Bahrein. He was informed in reply, on instructions from you, Sir, that the Persian Government were well aware that His Majesty's Government do not recognise any Persian claim to Bahrein, an Arab sheikhdom in special treaty relations with His Majesty's Government, who are responsible for its foreign relations. In a reply dated 26th August the Minister for Foreign Affairs reiterated the Persian claims and stated that any agreements concluded with the Sheikh of Bahrein were regarded by Persia as invalid. Nevertheless, when on the interpellation by M. Abbas Eskandari the Majlis discussed Bahrein at length, the Minister for Foreign Affairs in his reply made no mention of any recent protest to this embassy, and was not, therefore, faced with the necessity for admitting that this protest had been rejected.

4. The dispute over the water of the Helmand appears to have quietened down for the moment. The Foreign Affairs Commission of the Majlis debated the subject and approved the continuance of bilateral negotiations with the Afghan Government. Military forces on both sides of the frontier in the Seistan area have, however, been strengthened and difficulties have been experienced in the implementation of an Agreement between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Afghan Government for the delivery of petroleum products to Afghanistan, possibly as a Persian reprisal or in preparation of a bargaining counter to use in connexion with the Helmand water question.

5. The United States Senate has now finally approved the credits to Persia for the purchase of arms and their transport

to a Persian port, but no arms have yet begun to arrive.

6. Towards the end of the month the Yugoslav Minister issued a statement saying that he could not submit to the "terror" now reigning in Yugoslavia, and left Tehran for the Soviet Union with several of his staff. M. Mirosevic, whose appointment as first secretary was notified shortly before the Minister's departure, has assumed charge of the legation and issued a statement saying that the Minister's attitude is not shared by the whole legation staff and is not approved of by the Yugoslav people.

The Shah's Visit to Europe

7. The Shah left the United Kingdom at the beginning of the month and continued his tour through France, Switzerland and Italy. No particular political significance seems to attach to these visits, though the Persian press featured His Majesty's statement in Berne that he fully understood the profound necessity for Swiss neutrality. The tour, which ended with the Shah's return to Tehran on 27th August, was prolonged ten days over the period originally planned, and the Persian press reporting declined noticeably in space and enthusiasm towards the end. In spite of His Majesty's request that the formalities attending his return should be reduced to a minimum, many triumphal arches were erected and Ministers, Deputies and heads of foreign missions attended at the aerodrome to greet His Majesty on his return, which was marked by a display of considerable popular enthusiasm.

Internal Affairs

8. The Majlis reassembled on 8th August after a recess of a fortnight. Though its activities were reduced at first by the numerous public holidays marking the end of Ramazan, there was a lively debate in the second half of the month on the proposed amnesty for political prisoners from Azerbaijan and Zenjan. The draft decree had caused alarm to officials and the military authorities in the northern provinces, and the Prime Minister, to avoid awkward amendments, hurriedly withdrew it and substituted another. This was duly passed in the face of violent opposition from Left-wing Deputies, who created a disorderly scene in the Chamber. In anticipation of this measure a number of people previously deputed to the south have already begun to

return to Azerbaijan, while others who had remained in Azerbaijan in hiding have now begun to show themselves again. On 20th August the Majlis began to debate the interpellations tabled by MM. Abbas Eskandari and Ardalan on the subject of Bahrein, the A.I.O.C. concession, the state of prisons and the new foreign exchange regulations. This debate ended in a vote of confidence for the Prime Minister by 93 votes out of 101, the division being taken without particular reference to the subjects of the interpellation. Opposition to M. Hajir in the press has increased during the month, and he temporarily suppressed four newspapers which, however, at once reappeared under new names.

9. Negotiations have been opened between the Ministry of Finance and the A.I.O.C. on the "Iranianisation" article of the concession. There has been considerable clamour in the Majlis and press in favour of a revision of the concession, and the Chamber has authorised the Government to engage three experts—from "neutral" countries—to assist the Ministry of Finance in negotiating with the oil company.

10. The Government's new foreign exchange regulations (paragraph 7 of my despatch under reference) have now been in operation for some weeks. They have resulted in the establishment of different effective rates of exchange for various types of goods, and in the stabilisation of the free market (at present at the rate of 230 rials to the £) by sales of Government exchange. The new regulations do not yet cover all classes of merchandise, and a new decree is already in draft which will deal with industrial and agricultural machinery.

The Provinces

11. Except in Azerbaijan and the rice-growing Caspian provinces, where prospects are extremely good, the harvest is likely to be below expectation. Conditions are especially bad in Khuzistan, where there has been a general rise in the prices of food-stuffs. Grain from last year's harvest is now running low elsewhere and there have been shortages (resulting from bad distribution, smuggling and the withholding of stocks) at Ardebil, Kazvin, Bujnurd, Semnan and other places. Demonstrations occurred at the first two places and led to the temporary imposition of martial law at Kazvin and to an emergency decree authorising the Government

to control, and where necessary to forbid, the transport of grain from one locality to another.

12. In Isfahan there has been a certain effervescence in the relations between workers and mill-owners and between rival trade unions. The employers are apprehensive that Khaivan, the head of the independent union, is causing dissension among their employees; while Sadri, the Isfahan leader of E.S.K.I., has delivered an attack on the employers. Conditions appear favourable for agitation by Tudeh, whose seventeen leaders arrested in April have now been released. They will not be re-employed in the mills, but this would not seem to reduce their potential capacity for mischief. The Governor-General has warned the mill-owners to look out for a revival of Tudeh activity. Elsewhere in the country there is little sign of Tudeh progress.

13. The Prime Minister's promises to restore the prosperity of Azerbaijan have not so far impressed the Azerbaijanis. The cost of living continues to be high, and action so far taken is limited to projects for the improvement of communications. Nevertheless, Soviet propaganda continues to fall on stony ground and the loyalty of the population of Azerbaijan is not open to doubt.

14. Tribal conditions both in the Bakhtiari and Qashgai areas remain quiet. The Governor of the Bakhtiari is reported to be in Tehran complaining of army interference with his tribesmen, and similar

interference is reported from the Qashgai, though relations there between the tribes and the authorities remain generally good. From his exile in Tehran Abul Qassem is reported to be inciting the Bakhtiari leaders against the Governor. There has been no revival of trouble with the Javanrudi Kurds in the Kermanshah district (the special campaign against them was reported in paragraph 10 of my despatch under reference) and it is reported that of the 600 rifles declared by the tribesmen, 300 have been, or will shortly be, handed in.

15. Considerable progress has been made in the improvement of roads and the asphaltting of the streets of Shiraz by M. Ardalan, the new Governor-General of Fars who was formerly Minister of Roads. Work on the Shiraz water supply project has begun, and the Government has been conducting enquiries into the possibilities of reviving the trade of the port of Bushire. Contracts have also been signed for asphaltting the streets of Isfahan and for the Kuhrang tunnel and irrigation scheme.

16. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo; to Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy, Bagdad; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at Karachi and New Delhi; and to all His Majesty's consular officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 11973/1006/34

No. 23

RETURN OF THE SHAH OF PERSIA TO TEHRAN

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin (Received 15th September)

(No. 298)
Sir,

Tehran,
8th September, 1948.

With reference to Foreign Office telegram No. 517 of 21st August, 1948, I have the honour to report that His Majesty the Shah returned to Tehran on Friday 27th August. Before his arrival a message of welcome from all ranks of the army was telegraphed to him by the Chief of Staff, and fifteen fighter aircraft of the Persian Air Force escorted him from the frontier to Mehrabad aerodrome. There His Majesty was greeted with a salute of twenty-one guns and was received by the Imperial Family, the Prime Minister, the Diplomatic

Corps and a large gathering which represented all sections of the population of Tehran. In his speech of welcome the Prime Minister said that the Government had, with the support of the Majlis, done their best to contribute to the country's welfare in spite of the activities of ill-disposed persons. The Shah, in reply, reminded the Prime Minister that he would never have left Persia if he had not believed that his journey was in the interests of the country. He had learned that Persia was known and respected by other nations and was recognised as having a place among the free peoples of the world.

It was not enough, though, to be content with that. The two essential points were that Parliament, by passing the necessary laws, should ensure the welfare of the population and that the people themselves should have a sense of patriotic duty. He assured the Government of his satisfaction with the progress made in his absence, and looked forward to discussing at greater length on another occasion the many problems affecting the present situation and condition of Persia.

2. The President of the Majlis welcomed His Majesty in a short speech, the Turkish Ambassador spoke on behalf of the Diplomatic Corps and further speeches were made by two of the Majlis Deputies. M. Ali Mansur spoke on behalf of former Ministers, Dr. Siassi on behalf of the University, M. Abbas Khahili on behalf of the press and the Mayor of Tehran on behalf of the remainder of those present. His Majesty then drove from the aerodrome to his summer palace at Saadabad, escorted by motor-bicyclists of the police and followed by a long procession of cars. In spite of the Shah's own request that his return should not be the subject of expensive demonstrations, over twenty triumphal arches, some of them most elaborate, were built over the route, which was lined by enthusiastic crowds. Animals were sacrificed, flowers thrown under the car and teams of athletes performed in honour of their sovereign. At Saadabad the Shah received the religious leaders of the country.

3. Public rejoicing continued that evening and for the next two days. Buildings were everywhere floodlit and decorated with flags, and there was a fireworks display in the main square. On 28th August the Queen Mother gave a reception and on the following evening the Shah was the guest of the Prime Minister at a reception at the Sahabgharanieh Palace.

4. On the morning of 30th August His Majesty received in audience representatives of the industrial and labouring classes of Tehran and of the Armenian and Jewish communities. They were introduced by the Mayor, M. Doulatabadi, and requested that the Shah should give orders for the election of a Municipal Council for Tehran and for the formation of a committee through which the people could directly approach their sovereign with complaints against the Government. Apparently the Shah made no reply to this request.

38311

5. On Tuesday 31st August, His Majesty received the Majlis deputies in audience at Saadabad. After thanking them for the work they had done in his absence, His Majesty explained in general terms that he was impressed by the patriotic spirit of the countries which he had visited and also not only by their determination to repair the ravages of war, but by the extent of the reconstruction which had already been achieved. The Shah then went on to deal separately and in turn with each of the four countries he had visited. In England he was struck by the orderliness of the people and the speed with which they got things done. In particular he was impressed by our parliamentary procedure. During the visit of some forty minutes which he paid to the House of Commons, he heard no less than thirty-six questions asked and answered. Government and Opposition were not divided on essential principles but worked together for the common good. He added that public business was transacted when only about 100 Members of Parliament were present out of a possible 600 or so, and he favourably compared this with the state of affairs in the Persian Majlis where the quorum rules so frequently prevented any business being done. In France the Shah was also impressed by the way in which the Deputies worked together for the country's good, and by the skill with which Parliamentary business was handled in spite of the multitude of political parties. He emphasised that although France had suffered so much during the war, she was now able to play an important part in Europe, and said that he was impressed by the energy with which deficiencies in the armed forces were being made good. The Shah compared Switzerland with Great Britain for the remarkable smoothness and good order with which the life of the country was conducted. In spite of the paucity of her natural resources Switzerland was one of the richest countries for her size in the world and had very highly developed social services and an impressive army, the size of which showed that the Swiss were prepared to defend their liberty. In Italy the energy of the people and the work they had done to repair wartime destruction had won the Shah's admiration, and he was impressed by the way in which the Government's orders were carried out throughout the country.

6. In conclusion, His Majesty emphasised that Persia must learn to benefit from

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the experiences of the countries which he had visited and to draw inspiration from the progress which they had made. Persia's contribution to victory in the war was well-known and appreciated, and all the Governments with whom the Shah had been in contact were anxious for the best possible economic and political relations with her. It was therefore up to this country to increase production and thus her holdings of foreign exchange. The Shah did not believe that another war was imminent or that it would become so unless an unforeseen and unaccountable factor arose.

7. In reply to a question, His Majesty said that a foreign loan was no danger to a country confident of her own independence. He added that social progress in Persia must be in an orderly fashion and from above. Each country had to find a balance in her internal organisation without which there would be a constant danger of revolution, and the first conditions necessary for this balance were that the law should be just and that it should be properly enforced. It was the duty of the ruling class to ensure this. If they did not do so they would be the first victims of their own negligence. The world was

moving fast and Persia was not isolated from the world but was one of the links in a wide chain of nations.

8. Both the Shah's return and his speech to the Deputies received, on the whole, favourable notice in the Persian press. Except for those of the extreme Left, the newspapers were united in welcoming His Majesty's return and many special editions were produced for the occasion, but those opposed to the Government were inclined to criticise the Prime Minister for the way in which the Shah's reception was organised. In particular, the triumphal arches were said to have been erected contrary to the Shah's expressed wish and paid for by contributions forcibly exacted from the people. Only the Tudeh papers and those associated with Sayed Zia ignored the Shah's speech to the deputies. It was printed in full by the more responsible papers and was the subject of a number of leading articles.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow and Baghdad, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

F. 12216/25/34

No. 24

PERSIAN BUDGET: DEBATE IN THE MAJLIS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 21st September)

(No. 305)

Tehran,

15th September, 1948.

Sir,
With reference to paragraph 5 of my despatch No. 275 of 13th August, I have the honour to inform you that the debate on the budget, which opened on 26th August, still continues in the Majlis. In the effort to produce a Bill simple enough to receive the approval of the Majlis without undue delay, the Government have laid themselves open to the charge of failing to provide the Deputies with adequate information and have now to face the long and largely irrelevant debate which their proposals were designed to avoid. The Government has been opposed by M. Haerizadeh, Deputy for Sabzavar, and M. Taqizadeh, Deputy for Tabriz and former Persian Ambassador in London. The latter, in a well-reasoned speech, effectively exposed the faults of the present Budget Bill, but it seems unlikely that his

criticisms will do more than prolong the debate. The Government's supporters have, in general, admitted the imperfections of the Bill, but have urged that an indifferent budget is better than none at all. A large number of Deputies have announced their intention to speak on this subject, and as the debate has already been interrupted by the discussion of a Bill to organise the pilgrim traffic to Mecca, it is almost certain that another provisional twelfth will have to be voted before the whole budget becomes law. After the budget debate is over, the Prime Minister will answer M. Azad's interpellation of the Government on their suppression of certain newspapers and alleged breaches of the Constitution.

2. On 26th August the debate was opened by M. Mokaram (Daragaz), who spoke in favour of the Bill and said that the practice of financing the country by a series of

provisional twelfths was retarding economic progress. He criticised certain items of the Bill and, when the debate was continued on 31st August, he concluded with an *exposé* of the needs of his native province, Khorassan, where public health and education had been neglected, and where the decree prohibiting the cultivation of the opium poppy had brought hardship. To counter this, he suggested that the sugar-beet industry should be increased.

3. M. Haerizadeh (Sabzavar) made a long, rambling and bitter speech, in which he attacked the Government both collectively and individually, and repeated again and again that the Shah was surrounded by corrupt flatterers who were encouraging him to rule rather than to reign, and that the army was too large, too expensive and too fond of interfering in politics. He deplored that the provincial and departmental councils had, in practice, ceased to exist, and advocated suffrage for women as well as men. The Soviet Government had abandoned all her concessions in 1921, and His Majesty's Government should now annul the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's concession. To be called "the bridge of victory" was poor compensation to Persia for all she had done for the Allies in the war, and in this connexion he attacked the Government for their weakness over the railway claim. The Foreign Minister was accused of passivity over Bahrein and the Shatt-el-Arab, and the speaker concluded with an attack on the Prime Minister, whom he held personally responsible for the difficulties and internal dissensions of the two previous Cabinets. He blamed M. Hajir for having organised the Shah's reception in such a way as to estrange the sovereign and his people, and for having failed to invite representatives of the press to his reception in honour of the Shah's return.

4. This speech, which had continued into the session of 2nd September, was frequently interrupted, and when M. Haerizadeh was unable any longer to make himself heard the President was obliged to suspend the session for a few minutes. On its resumption, M. Sadeghi (Tehran) reminded the Majlis that no budget had been approved in Persia for the last five years. The present Bill was not perfect, but it was the duty of the Majlis to approve it. He was followed by Engineer Khosro Hedayat (Tehran) who answered M. Haerizadeh's attack on the army and paid

a tribute to the work of the Imperial Organisation for Social Service.

5. On 5th September, M. Taqizadeh (Tabriz) condemned both the substance of the Budget Bill and the form in which it had been presented to the Majlis. The Deputies, he said, were being asked to approve a number of round figures without any explanation of how they had been arrived at. He asked for details of the £2 million sterling from the railway settlement which was said to be for the purchase of cartridges. He did not believe that any sound principle underlay the proposals, but that they had been devised solely to benefit the greedy ruling class. In spite of the poverty of the people, the Administration for the last twenty-five years had spent the national budget almost entirely on themselves. Huge buildings, like those of Chicago and Paris, had been built in Tehran and were still being built, and probably dance-halls were next on the list. The Civil Service had been allowed to swell to unmanageable proportions, with the result that Government employees engaged in politics, edited newspapers and publicly disputed with each other, yet the new budget allowed for the engagement of still more Government employees.

6. M. Taqizadeh criticised the 8 million tomans allotted to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which represented one-hundredth of the whole budget, and he objected to the wastage of foreign exchange. Missions abroad were too large. He asked what use were the legations in such places as Brazil, Poland and Yugoslavia, and said that he would prefer to see the money that they cost used to build hospitals in Luristan or Kerman, or to provide a water system for Bandar Abbas. Instead of appointing political, commercial, cultural and financial attachés in large numbers to countries in Europe and South America, the Government should follow the example of the Danish Government, who had recently abolished the posts of military attaché in certain of her missions abroad. Yet Denmark, compared with Persia, was a rich country.

7. In conclusion, the speaker briefly outlined the points which he considered should be covered by the budget if it were to benefit the people as a whole. These were agriculture and irrigation, industry, communications, the control of profits, public health and education (including compulsory education in hygiene), housing and what perhaps can be best described as

moral rearmament. He praised the Shah for the sincere interest which His Majesty showed in serious reform, briefly lamented the delays in the judicial system and the unhappy plight of many prisoners and, in conclusion, in marked contrast to M. Haerizadeh, said that he had nothing personally against the members of the present Government but had spoken out of a sense of duty to the nation.

8. On 7th September, after the interpellation of M. Azad had been read, Dr. Shafagh (Tehran) spoke in favour of the Bill. He realised the necessity for economies, particularly in the Civil Service, but they must be effected slowly. A detailed plan was needed to restore the industrial position of the country, which had declined since 1941, and he hoped that the Bill for the Seven-Year Plan would be approved as soon as possible. He did not doubt the good faith of His Majesty's Government over the A.I.O.C. concession, and welcomed the talks which were in progress between representatives of the Persian Government and of the A.I.O.C. A nation which had given India her freedom was not likely to have sinister designs on Persia. He asked the Majlis to approve the budget proposals.

9. At the conclusion of Dr. Shafagh's speech the President ruled that debate on the Bill in general was closed, and that it would now be debated article by article. Engineer Razavi (Kerman) said that the

country's finances had been in disorder since the time of Dr. Millspaugh, criticised the gendarmerie and the postal service, and asked why the revenues from A.I.O.C. royalties were not shown in the budget. M. Batmanghelich (Ardebil) offered to put 400 tractors at the disposal of the Ministry of Agriculture.

10. Most of the sessions of 9th and 11th September were taken up with the discussion of a Bill to organise pilgrimages to Mecca, which was accorded a vote of double urgency. However, it was eventually dropped without a vote being taken, and the debate on the budget was resumed. Dr. Taba' (Nain) said that the budget must first be approved, in spite of its failings, because without it the Government were prevented from carrying out further reforms. He praised the work of the former Minister of Finance, M. Najm, and emphasised the need for a thorough purge of the Civil Service. He went on to speak at some length on the inadequacy of the medical services in Persia, outlined a scheme for State scholarships for sending medical students to study abroad. Above all, more doctors were needed in the provinces. The debate continues.

11. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

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No. 25

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE PERSIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

International Situation

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 222)

Foreign Office,

Sir,

1st October, 1948.

The Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs called on me this morning in Paris. After an exchange of compliments he said that I would be aware of the general position of Persia. She had had a very difficult time since the war and, although things were better than at the time of the last exchange of notes with the Soviet Government, the position was still a difficult one and world events had their repercussions on the internal situation. He

agreed with me, however, that the Soviet Union was likely to leave Persia more or less alone for the time being. He told me that in a frank talk with the Soviet Ambassador he had explained that no Persian had any designs against the Soviet Union and that they all wanted good relations with Russia. But the Russians were suspicious and interpreted quite wrongly the presence of United States military instructors in Persia and the Persian application to the United States for arms.

2. I reminded the Persian Foreign Minister of Generalissimo Stalin's remark to me in Moscow that the Persians might attack Baku and my retort that it seemed a pure flight of imagination to suppose that the Persian army would attack the Red army. The Persian Foreign Minister said that he had explained to the Soviet Ambassador that in a country where communications were so difficult and distances so great an army was necessary for the maintenance of internal order. An army needed arms, and more particularly the Persian army, which had lost most of its arms as a result of the Allied entry into Persia. But it was simply ridiculous to describe all this as a menace to Soviet security. I said that this, of course, was only an excuse.

3. The Persian Foreign Minister then raised with me what he described as the essential question. He did not think any country, including the Soviet Union, wanted war, but in the present situation war might come of itself, since any incident might lead to war. He asked me my views on this.

4. I said I very much doubted now whether an incident would lead to war. The situation had been dangerous a few weeks ago, but the Western world was now organising itself and I thought the Russians would take care to avoid any incidents. Some time ago, when the Gatow air crash had been followed by disorders in Berlin and by Soviet attacks on the City Council, I had feared that this was all part of deliberate Soviet provocation. But we had kept our heads and, now that the Berlin question was before the United Nations, I doubted whether the Russians would let incidents occur, and, if they did occur, I thought they would want to prevent them developing into a dangerous situation. While clearly we might be faced again with grave danger, I was now turning over in my mind whether the Russians, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory, might not now intend to carry out a calmer policy and so lull the world into a sense of false security. That, in my view, was the real danger facing us for the next ten years. Without being in any way aggressive towards the Soviet Union we must all safeguard our security by creating and maintaining the right degree of organisation capable of resisting Soviet aggression if it occurred. Thus world peace could be built up to last for a long time. I did not think that the Soviet Union would take on the rest of the world

by herself, and she was by no means sure of her satellites. There were, of course, great danger spots in the Far East, Germany and Austria, and elsewhere, but we might still reach a settlement of these problems within the next twelve months. A great deal depended, however, on whether the Russians succeeded in dividing the rest of the world. Provided the free nations maintained their solidarity and helped each other, then I had no fear. I quoted as an example of such solidarity the question of the Italian Colonies. We made no secret of the fact that we wanted trusteeship for Cyrenaica, which was important not only to us but to all the countries in the Middle East and in the area of the Indian Ocean, including Persia, for the maintenance of communications and world peace. There were other similar issues in regard to which we could help one another. Summing up, I said that I had considered the world situation to be worse four or five weeks ago than to-day. The Russians had originally been working on the assumption that they could oust us from Berlin in four weeks, but our airlift was now providing almost as much for Berlin as the trains had done. We had broken the blockade. The present method was costly and we should prefer to return to more normal methods, but we could continue and develop the airlift. I thought the Politburo must now be reflecting that further expansion was not quite so easy as they had thought.

5. I then drew the Persian Foreign Minister's attention to the importance of social development and of effecting every possible improvement in the standard of living of the common people. The greatest Soviet propaganda weapon lay in bad social conditions, and the best defence against communism lay in constant industrial and agricultural development to raise the standard of life. I considered a great proportion of the income of every country ought to be devoted to such a purpose. In these days of wireless and easy communications people could easily be stirred up by bad conditions and propaganda to a revolutionary frame of mind. Therefore all those countries which had similar conceptions of human liberties should concentrate on greater social development. In Great Britain communism was almost non-existent because steps had been taken by the Government for the well-being of the people, who, as a result, did not feel that the Communists could do anything more for

them than was being done. Therefore communism had little appeal for them.

6. The Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs fully agreed with me and said that the Persian Government had every intention of developing and improving social standards in Persia, which were far from satisfactory. There could be no comparison in this respect between Britain and Persia. However, there was some excuse for the Persian Government. They had had great difficulties for many years past and more especially during the war period. Nor had their difficulties ended with the war. There had been the Azerbaijan crisis and tension with the Soviet Union continued. One comforting factor was that the Persian people as a whole had no confidence in Russia and were suspicious and sceptical of Soviet promises. Their eyes had been completely opened by the Azerbaijan crisis. The Persian Government realised that Britain had her own economic difficulties and they were therefore placing their main hopes in American material assistance for improving the standard of living and developing their industry and agriculture. But they would be very grateful for such help as Great Britain could give them. He only asked for our agreement in principle to do this and had no concrete proposals to make. I said they could, of course, rely on us in this respect in so far as we could help.

7. The Persian Foreign Minister then mentioned to me in this context that he had spoken recently to the representatives in Tehran of the Anglo-Iranian Company. He had explained to them that he wanted the company to be popular in the country so that every Persian felt that the company was creating better conditions for the Persian people. He had been happy to note a real spirit of comprehension in the response of the representatives of the company. I said that I had also spoken to the company and asked them to do all they could within reason to make the Persian people regard the presence of the company in Persia as a benefit to the State and to the people. I asked the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs how the company's housing schemes were going. He said that he thought things were going ahead well.

8. The Persian Foreign Minister then asked for my views on the possibility and the desirability of a regional pact in the Middle East. The Treaty of Saadabad was only one of consultation and conciliation. Did I think it should be enlarged and strengthened? I replied that I thought it better to wait until the United States elections were over. We could not do very much without United States financial and material assistance. Therefore, while studying the question now, we should delay any action until after the elections. The Persian Foreign Minister did not dissent from this. He remarked that he did not think that the Soviet Union would take any action now in regard to either Persia or Turkey since the Russians realised that any increase in the Soviet threat to either country might mean war.

9. The Persian Foreign Minister then said he would like my help over a relatively small question. The Persian Government had made certain purchases in Germany during the war, but the Anglo-American authorities in Germany were now asking them to pay again for these goods. This had surprised the Persian Government. There had already been conversations on this subject in London and Tehran. He did not wish to trouble me with the details, but he hoped I would ask the Foreign Office to show a more sympathetic attitude towards the Persian point of view. I said that I knew nothing about this question but would look into it.

10. Finally, the Persian Foreign Minister told me that, while Persia had preferred not to put forward her candidature for a seat on the Security Council, she was a candidate for the Economic and Social Council and for The Hague Court. He hoped that Persia could count on the support of the United Kingdom Delegation. I said that I was not myself very familiar with these United Nations questions, which were being dealt with by the Minister of State. I would, however, speak to Mr. McNeil and ask him to get in touch with the Persian Foreign Minister to discuss the matter further.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 4th October)

(No. 319)

Sir . . . *Tehran, 28th September, 1948.*

I have the honour to submit the following brief review of the Persian political situation as it is seen in the capital to-day. As presented in this despatch, it may seem to have an actuality which in fact it scarcely possesses; in spite of the Western political jargon constantly on the lips of the more modernised section of the population, Persian politics remain profoundly affected by undercurrents of personal prejudice and intrigue difficult for the Western observer to discern, much less to fathom.

2. With the possible exceptions of the Prime Minister and the Minister for War, the Cabinet can in no way be distinguished from its predecessor in efficiency or in determination. The reshuffle (reported in my despatch No. 320) is unlikely to have any effect beyond slightly reinforcing the Government's position in the Majlis. Thwarted as he has been at every turn by the Majlis, the Prime Minister has had little opportunity of doing anything positive; he does not seem to be a strong man, but he has displayed considerable resource in resisting the constant attacks to which he has been subjected.

3. At present the Majlis contains four recognised "fractions," namely:—

- (a) The Democrat Party, supporting Qavam-us-Saltaneh and consisting of thirty-five deputies.
- (b) Ettihad-e-Melli (National Unity), consisting of twenty-five deputies, of whom the most active are the brothers Mas'udi, owners of the important newspaper *Ettelaat*. *Matin Daftari* also belongs to this group.
- (c) Ettefagh (Accord), consisting of thirteen deputies led by Malek Madani, Deputy for Malayer and leader of the recently formed Rastakhiz (Resurrection) Party.
- (d) Taraghghi (Progress), led by Dr. Ettebar, Deputy for Borujerd, and consisting of nine deputies.

In addition to the established "fractions" comprising eighty-two deputies, there are two groups not yet officially accepted as "fractions," namely, the dissident element of Qavam's Democrat Party

led by Sardar Fakher Hikmat, President of the Majlis, with fifteen deputies, and the Melli (National) group with fourteen deputies, of whom the principal is Taqi-zadeh. The Independents, amounting to another twenty deputies or so, contain some Soviet supporters and also some followers of Sayyed Zia-ud-din. With the possible exception of the Democrat Party, none of these "fractions" has any stability. Members are constantly passing from one to the other, and if the new fractions mentioned above are formed it is probable that they will derive some of their members from the existing fractions. It will be observed that the Prime Minister has no "fraction." Sardar Fakher Hikmat's group, which will probably be raised to the status of "fraction," is fairly solid behind the Government, which also has some support in the other fractions.

4. The position of the Government and the execution of its programme are likely to be affected more by the eventual result of the indictment brought against Qavam than by any other single consideration. In spite of the apparent preoccupation of the Majlis with the budget and other matters of State importance, it is the political future of Qavam with which it is principally concerned. Qavam's "fraction" is intent upon obstructing any positive action by the Government while the fate of their leader hangs in the balance; similarly, a group led by the brothers Mas'udi and with followers in the other fractions is determined to discredit Qavam and to that end is believed to be formulating new and more serious charges against him.

5. Just as the Prime Minister has no easily recognisable following in the Majlis, so he has no press. Indeed, the vast majority of papers violently oppose him and openly accuse him on the one hand of treachery and incompetence and on the other of planning a dictatorship. Qavam's press by contrast includes several well-run and apparently well-subsidised papers. The Prime Minister's position is, however, much strengthened by the fact that he is known to enjoy the Shah's moral support. The Shah is known to have had four long interviews with Qavam-us-Saltaneh since his return from Europe, but, generally

speaking, His Majesty seems to be holding aloof from politics. Indeed, it is now rumoured that he will not take an active part again until he has set his own family affairs in order. The reported fall from favour of two deputies generally believed to be intimately associated with the Royal Family lends colour to this theory.

6. Of the other potential influences, the Tudeh Party, while it claims to have extended its influence, is in fact held in leash by police vigilance and its supporters are confined to the small though important industrial section of the population. Sayyed Zia has forfeited much of his popularity by his open opposition to the Court and his growing reputation for intransigence and fanaticism. The possibility of his reappearance as a political figure of importance cannot, however, be entirely excluded.

7. The only conclusion which it seems legitimate to draw at present is that the Government is unlikely to achieve anything positive until the question of Qavam's political future has been settled. It is not yet possible to foretell what the outcome will be. Against his superior political prestige and ability, his experience, his personality and his important following in the Majlis must be set the opposition of another considerable group of deputies, whose number is uncertain, and the rooted antagonism of the Shah.

[I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.]

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

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No. 27

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

MONTHLY REPORT FOR SEPTEMBER 1948

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 11th October)

(No. 331)

Sir, *Tehran, 5th October, 1948.*

With reference to my despatch No. 294 of 6th September I have the honour to submit the following report on events in Persia during the month of September. There have been no developments in Persian relations with the Soviet Union; the pilgrim traffic to Mecca has been resumed after a lapse of several years. M. Hazhir has re-formed his Cabinet, but the budget has not yet been approved and the prestige of the Government is declining. A decree forbidding civil servants to direct newspapers or take part in journalism has created considerable excitement. A Parliamentary Judicial Commission has acquitted the former Prime Minister, Qavam-us-Saltaneh, of the charges brought against him.

Foreign Affairs

2. The Soviet Ambassador is still on leave, and there has been remarkably little Soviet activity either in Tehran or the provinces, where the Soviet consulates are for

the most part thinly staffed. The policy of closing down the V.O.K.S. cultural centres continues, and women and children of Soviet nationality have left Khorassan and the Caspian provinces. Reports have been received of the evacuation of civilians from certain villages in the neighbourhood of Soviet Astara.

3. At the end of the month a number of pilgrims, variously estimated at between 8,000 and 15,000, left Tehran for Mecca by road and air. Although the discussion of a Bill to provide for a special organisation for their protection has been postponed by the Majlis, the Red Lion and Sun Society have arranged for ambulances to accompany the pilgrims. A former Prime Minister, M. Sadr ul Ashraf, has been appointed by the Shah chairman of a committee to supervise the pilgrims' welfare, and it is reported that the counsellor of the Persian Embassy in Cairo, who has gone to Jedda, will shortly be appointed Minister there. The Shah has presented a sword and a Koran to King Ibn Saud, and the religious leader, Ayatollah Behbehani, has

been invited to be the guest of the Saudi Arabian Government while he is in Mecca.

4. The Persian delegation to the third session of the United Nations General Assembly, which is at present sitting in Paris, was headed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and included M. Adl, Minister without portfolio. On 25th September M. Isfandiari spoke in general terms, reminding the Assembly of the fate of the League of Nations, and assuring them of Persia's adherence to the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Organisation.

Internal Affairs

5. During the month the Majlis has been almost solely occupied with the debate on the budget, which has still not been approved in spite of the Prime Minister's efforts to obtain the co-operation of the Deputies. The Budget Bill has been condemned by M. Taqizadeh and others, and many Deputies, speaking ostensibly on the side of the Government, have not only criticised details of the budget, but have taken the opportunity to review at great length the whole position of the country. The right to speak and to conduct business after their own leisurely fashion is jealously guarded by the Deputies. Although they have agreed to hold a session every week-day while the budget is still being debated, at none of the special sessions has there so far been a quorum. With seventy amendments to it already tabled, the budget does not seem likely to become law in the near future. Another provisional twelfth was approved on 26th September. Meanwhile, internal reforms are hanging fire, and the Labour Bill and the Seven-Year Plan Bill are waiting their turn on the Majlis agenda. Work on the former by a parliamentary committee has, however, been continuing.

6. Discussions between the Persian Government and representatives of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company have continued during the month. On 19th September the Prime Minister told the Deputies that the discussions had reached a point at which he would welcome their advice, and asked them to form a committee to assist him. This they refused to do, saying that it was the duty of the Government to continue the discussions with the help of their expert advisers, and to submit a report to the Majlis in due course. The Government have now made their detailed

proposals which are being considered by the representatives of the A.I.O.C.

7. Early in the month a decree of the Council of Ministers was published which forbade Government employees, on pain of dismissal, to engage in business and to own or edit newspapers. This decree, although apparently reasonable, in fact strikes at the roots of the Tehran press. Since the abdication of Reza Shah in 1941 a very large number of daily newspapers, many of them little more than political pamphlets with a small circulation, have appeared in Tehran. There is no tradition in this country of an impartial civil service, and Government employees, who are more often than not aspiring politicians, play a considerable part in journalism. The Prime Minister has been petitioned to repeal the decree, which has been condemned by all sections of the press as an attack on their liberty. It was also the subject of an interpellation of the Government made by M. Azad on 5th September. The Prime Minister expressed his readiness to reply to this at once, but it was subsequently decided that he should do so after the budget debate.

8. On 23rd September the Prime Minister announced a reshuffle of the Cabinet and introduced three new Ministers—M. Golshayan, Minister of Justice; M. Varasteh, Minister of Finance; and M. Ashrafi, Minister of National Economy. The Prime Minister himself became Minister of the Interior, and Dr. Shadman, formerly Minister of National Economy, became Minister of Agriculture. The former Ministers of Justice and Agriculture, MM. Mafi and Bushehri, had announced their resignation some days before, and M. Fahimi, formerly Minister of the Interior, was appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan. These changes do not appear to be of much significance, though it is possible that the Prime Minister hopes, by unburdening himself of the portfolio of Finance, to speed up the budget debate. The Minister of Finance has to be present while amendments to the budget are being debated.

9. Changes have also taken place in the Prime Minister's office. The resignation has been announced of the two Under-Secretaries, MM. Moadel and Tafazoli, and the functions of the Director of Propaganda, M. Faripur, have been taken over by the Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Shadman. Although M. Abbas Hishmati, at present Governor-General of Mazandaran,

has been widely reported as about to become Under-Secretary to the Prime Minister, no official announcement has yet been made.

10. Between 200 and 300 tribal leaders from all parts of Persia attended, in the latter part of the month, a course at the Senior Officers' School, at the same time as provincial divisional commanders were called to Tehran. A conference of divisional commanders is held annually, and although last year certain tribal leaders from Azerbaijan attended it, this is the first time that a large number of tribesmen have been invited. Visits to the Majlis and to military installations were arranged in Tehran, and at the end of the course the tribesmen were received by the Shah and swore allegiance to him and to the country. The press and public opinion have been sharply divided on the subject of this tribal influx, which has excited considerable comment and gave rise to a spirited debate in the Majlis on 23rd September between those who believed that nothing but trouble has ever come from the tribes and those who were disposed to commend General Razmara for his initiative in encouraging them to think of themselves as a vital part of Persia's armed forces.

11. It was announced on 28th September that the Parliamentary Judicial Commission which has been considering the report of the special committee on the indictment of Qhavam-us-Saltaneh had pronounced in his favour. The Majlis has now to approve the decision of the Judicial Committee, and it is generally believed that they will do so. The strong probability that his final acquittal will result in Qhavam again becoming Prime Minister is the principal topic of conversation in political circles.

The Provinces

12. Several hundred political prisoners and others who were deported to the south have already returned to Azerbaijan under the terms of the amnesty. Although there have been no disorders in the province there is fairly high feeling against the return of so many politically unreliable people, and M. Taqizadeh has been criticised for advocating that the amnesty should be widely

applied. He and other Deputies from Azerbaijan have received protests from their constituents against the return not only of many muhajjirs who were of Russian origin and had no roots in Azerbaijan, but also of young men of no particular trade who would swell the ranks of the unemployed.

13. At the end of the month the Shah paid a visit to Isfahan and inaugurated the work on the Kuhrang tunnel. The road to the site, about 200 kilom. from Isfahan, has now been completed and work on the tunnel itself has been started. The contract for this has been awarded to the Norwegian firm of Nortrac, and machinery is expected shortly. It is estimated that the tunnel will take about two years to complete. His Majesty also inspected the weaving factories at Isfahan, opened a new bridge and returned to Tehran by way of Kashan and Ghom.

14. The harvest has been good in the north and west, though prices are high in Azerbaijan and a good deal of grain has been hidden for eventual sale on the black market. In Khuzistan, however, it has not been good, and in their efforts to prevent smuggling by prohibiting the free movement of grain between provinces, the Government have probably caused some hardship in the south. In Ahwaz the Governor-General's grain company is in difficulties and smuggling on a reduced scale continues.

15. In Fars the migration of the tribes to winter pastures has started, and there has consequently been a slight decline in public security. In general the tribal areas are quiet.

16. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo; to Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy, Bagdad; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at Karachi and New Delhi; and to all His Majesty's consular officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

VISIT OF SHAH TO ISFAHAN FOR INAUGURATION OF KUHRANG TUNNEL PROJECT

Consul Barnett to Mr. Bevin. (Received 25th October)

(No. 12)
Sir,

Isfahan,
6th October, 1948

With references to my despatch No. 9 of 29th May, I have the honour to report that the long-awaited visit of His Imperial Majesty the Shah to Isfahan finally took place at the end of last month. Its primary purpose was of course the inauguration of the Kuhrang tunnel project, and as the contract had been awarded about a month previously and the successful bidders (the Norwegian firm of Nortrac-Iran) had moved enough plant up to the site to enable operations to be begun, the moment was propitious.

2. At 8.30 on the morning of 27th September some 100 representatives of Government and business, my Soviet colleague and myself, and a fairly large and very enthusiastic crowd were assembled at the airport to await His Majesty at 9. By 9.30 the official welcoming party had all retired to the shade of a large empty hangar, watched enviously from their places in the sun by the officers of the 9th Division and the steel-helmeted guard of honour. At 10.30 His Majesty arrived in an old army plane; his own is said to have been put out of commission in Tehran on the previous day. He did not bother to inspect the guard of honour or the five army aircraft drawn up in line, but hurried off to begin his round of audiences, through streets embellished with 3 or 4 million rials' worth of triumphal arches.

3. From 11 o'clock to 12.30 His Majesty received in turn the leading Government officials; the leading mullahs; the "notables"; the millowners; the leaders of the Government-sponsored E.S.K.I. trade union; and the Consular Corps, consisting of the Acting Soviet Consul and myself. The journalists, who evidently consider themselves entitled to special consideration on these occasions, made a great fuss at having been left out. Deprived of an opportunity of complaining to the Shah personally of the lamentable state of affairs in the town, the Left-wing editors (one of whom had already protested to His Majesty at the airport) let themselves go in print. They criticised the police, the gendarmerie, the

municipality, the Government departments; they complained of the electricity supply, the water shortage, conditions in the fields of education and health, conditions in the factories, the general economic situation, the crooked elections to the Majlis and the shortcomings of the Isfahan Deputies. The Governor-General, they said, was an honest man, but not the man to put Isfahan to rights; and but for the army the town would not even have security. During these few days the public left no doubt of the Shah's popularity, and it is clear that all shades of opinion except the Tudeh Party (which maintained complete silence throughout the visit) regard him as the only hope of an improvement in political, economic and social conditions.

4. In the afternoon the Shah visited the barracks, inaugurated the construction of an additional bridge over the Zayandeh Rud designed to create a by-pass for traffic between Tehran and Shiraz, and opened the new Officers' Club, housed in a renovated 16th-century palace in the centre of the town. The last-named function was the biggest social event of the visit, and the fact that no foreigners were invited to it caused some comment. I have heard that the reason given for this exclusiveness was the delicate state of international relations; whether Anglo-Soviet or Soviet-Persian I do not know. In any case this decision was not unexpected.

5. On the other hand, having been previously asked by the Governor-General whether I should like to accompany the party to Kuhrang, I was surprised not to receive an invitation for this either, since it is a British firm of consulting engineers which has provided the technical skill for the project. In few other countries, I think, would the authorities have failed to include a representative of His Majesty's Government when an important scheme, which had remained an unrealised dream for three centuries and a half, was about to be carried out through the medium of British technique. Again, I cannot tell whether the reason was a desire to adhere to a certain concept of neutrality, which is a daily feature of life here, e.g., in the

authorities' dealings with the Anglo-Persian Institute and its Soviet counterpart; or a refusal to allow any foreigner unnecessarily to enter tribal territory, which I have encountered on more than one occasion. As it was, the only foreigners present were the representatives of Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners and of the contractors.

6. The royal party left for Kuhrang by road early on the morning of 28th September and arrived at the site in the afternoon. There is a move on foot by the Irrigation Corporation, which is in charge of the scheme on the Persian side, to oust the old Board of Directors of the Kuhrang Company and assume unhampered control itself. As part of his campaign of resistance to this plan Akbar Mas'ud (Sarem-ed-Dowleh), chairman of the Board, had persuaded most of the directors to turn up at the ceremony in morning coats and top-hats, there to be presented to the Shah, who would thus be impressed with the importance of the Board in the scheme of things. A few of the directors fought shy of the idea, but most of them acquiesced and travelled for eight hours over a rough and dusty road, into the wilderness, clad in ceremonial attire. When they arrived they found Sarem-ed-Dowleh himself, dressed in a green tweed suit. His Majesty then proceeded to set off the first dynamite charge and tap the rock with a small gold pickaxe specially made for the occasion. Before returning to Isfahan the following morning he crossed over to the far side of the Karkunan ridge, whence the camp-fires of the Bakhtiari returning down the western slopes to their winter quarters could be seen, to view the site of the entrance to the tunnel. The latter is to be horseshoe-shaped, 13 feet high and 10 feet wide at its widest point. It is expected that slow progress will be made with the tunnelling until the spring, when the main bulk of the contractors' equipment should be delivered.

7. But further decisions will soon have to be made on questions of finance. The tunnel is to cost 52 million rials, of which only 30 million (8 of private capital and 22 from Government funds) have so far been made available. After payment of the remaining 22 million by the Government, there is the question whether the latter shall buy up the privately owned shares. According to Fazlullah Dehesh, the second largest private share-holder, the Shah does not wish the Government to put any more

money into the scheme. This may be only wishful thinking on Dehesh's part, since he is the leader of those who would still like the scheme to be run as a private enterprise, with dividends obtained from water dues, in opposition to the public-corporation school of thought headed by Amin-ut-Tujjar, one of the Isfahan Deputies, and Sarem-ed-Dowleh (see my despatch No. 9, paragraphs 3, 4 and 5). A possible compromise solution might be that the company should remain a mixed one, with the Government raising water taxes and paying dividends to the private shareholders in proportion to their shares of the total capital. The difficulty here is that the Isfahanis do not wish to be burdened with perpetual water rights owned by private persons, but would like to see the whole expenditure defrayed by the Government, to repay it (if necessary, with interest) over a series of years, and thereafter to enjoy the water without further payment. I gather that for the most part the private shareholders themselves would welcome the repayment of their capital, as it has been lying dormant for about two years and prospects of future returns on it are uncertain.

8. The army had prepared a rough landing ground near the tunnel site, and two old biplanes were in attendance. His Majesty had evidently had enough of the road on the journey up, and although he was not expected back in Isfahan until the evening and conditions for a take-off were difficult, he determined to make the return journey by air. About a third of the way back, near Dameneh (following the road), the aircraft developed engine trouble and the Shah was obliged to make a forced landing. The official announcement issued on the following day stated that he had come down intentionally in order to have a look round. Some of the papers, while admitting that the landing was a forced one, declared that the plane was undamaged. In fact, as I learned from eye-witnesses returning from Kuhrang who reached the spot just as the plane was landing, it lost one wheel and turned upside down. General Mu'tazedi, Commanding Officer of the 9th (Isfahan) Division, who was the other occupant of the plane and who afterwards told me that he never went up in an army machine if he could help it, was flung out, unhurt, and was able to help the Shah, also unhurt, from his inverted position in the cockpit. I understand that this is the fourth accident, or

near-accident, in which His Majesty has been involved in the last three months. He was only dissuaded from continuing the journey in the other aircraft, which had landed in the neighbourhood, by the combined entreaties of those present, who threatened to lie down in front of the plane if he should attempt to take off again.

9. The rest of the royal visit was comparatively uneventful. During the remaining day the Shah went to two of the textile mills, the textile workers' hospital and one of the municipal hospitals, in all of which places he made salutary and constructive criticisms; officially opened a museum housed in the old Chehel Sutun palace, one of the exhibits being the gold pickaxe which he had used at Kuhrang; and inaugurated the construction of a workers' quarter on the south side of the city. I am told that the local Director of Labour was caught napping in this; a fortnight before the Shah's arrival the land had not even

been bought. It was hastily purchased and a wall erected round it.

10. His Majesty left for Tehran, via Kashan, on the morning of 1st October. Unfortunately he took a roundabout route through Nain and Ardestan, in spite of (or perhaps because of) a petition from the bus and road-haulage companies imploring him to see for himself the disgraceful condition of the main Isfahan-Tehran road, the first twenty-five miles of which he would have had to traverse if he had taken the direct route to Kashan. Expectations that the state of the road would thus be brought forcibly to his attention were thus disappointed; and though there are hopes that his visit will have given the local administration a beneficial shaking-up, there is no great confidence that any tangible results will come of it.

11. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Tehran.

I have, &c.

L. BARNETT.

E 14094/100/34

No. 29

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE GOVERNOR OF THE NATIONAL BANK OF PERSIA

Persian Seven-Year Plan

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 246) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *29th October, 1948.*

At his request I received the Governor of the National Bank of Persia, Mr. Abul Hassan Ibtihaj, on 29th October. Mr. Ibtihaj expressed with evident sincerity his determination to do everything which was in his power to make the Persian Seven-Year Plan a success. He informed me that while in Washington he had had discussions with the International Bank and, as a result, was hopeful that in due course the bank would be prepared to make a loan for suitable projects. He described the preliminary work on the Seven-Year Plan which the Persian Government have done in drawing up data and preliminary plans, and referred to their engagement of the American firm of Overseas Consultants to advise them on the next stages. He hoped that British firms, especially Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners, who had done good work in Persia, would be asso-

ciated with Overseas Consultants. He attached great importance to supervision of the plan by American and British experts since only with foreign supervision could the Persians feel assured that the money voted for the plan would be used for the purposes for which it was intended and not go into private pockets.

2. He then proceeded to describe the Majlis as the principal obstacle in the way of the successful carrying out of the plan. In his opinion it was an utterly irresponsible and obstructive body; once it was elected its members were completely secure from removal for its two years' term and, since there was no second chamber to revise legislation passed by the Majlis and the Executive had no power of veto, the Majlis could pass the wildest legislation and the Government could not prevent them. He therefore thought that constitutional changes, including the grant to the Shah of the right of dissolution, were

necessary. He appreciated that anything that was to be done would have to be done carefully since there was always the danger of a relapse into military dictatorship and he certainly did not wish to see his country handed over to the ignorant rule of the Ministry of War.

3. I said that I always used all the means at my command to urge the importance of reform and development on the Persian Government as the only sure defence against communism. All the help that was within our power we would gladly provide. What seemed to me absolutely essential was that the Persian Government should procure the passage of the Seven-Year Plan Bill as soon as they could. At this stage it was better not to take up the time of the Deputies with talk of constitutional reform; the Government should concentrate on passing the budget and the Seven-Year Plan Bill and after that see if it needed to make changes in the Constitution and, if so, what they ought to be. I said

that it was not for me to advise the Persian Government on the details of their constitutional arrangements; to do so would smack of intervention. I was always very scrupulous not to intervene in Persia's internal affairs. To this Mr. Ibtihaj replied that he also, as a Persian patriot, certainly did not want foreign intervention. What he wanted was an assurance of my sympathy in the efforts which the Persians were making to improve the condition of their country and a spirit of understanding should they find it necessary to make changes in the Constitution. I concluded the interview by repeating that what was wanted before anything else was the passage of the Seven-Year Plan Bill.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN

E 14334/1754/34

No. 30

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE PERSIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Persian Affairs

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 250)

Foreign Office,

Sir,

3rd November, 1948

As the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs was on a short private visit to this country I took the opportunity of renewing our acquaintance by seeing him this afternoon. After an exchange of compliments he asked me if the international situation was any clearer since our last conversation on 1st October and whether I thought speedier progress could be made in settling the outstanding international problems now that the United States elections were over. I told him I did not expect that the result of the United States elections would greatly affect American foreign policy, but I hoped that we would now be able to settle more quickly certain outstanding problems of economic co-operation and defence.

2. The Persian Foreign Minister then asked me about Burma and whether India would declare herself a republic and leave the Commonwealth. In reply I said that

the situation in Burma showed some improvement and now that the Government of Burma had established better relations with India and the Karens we could hope for still further improvement. As regards India, I could not forecast at this stage what the Indian Government might decide to do.

3. The Persian Foreign Minister went on to say that his Government's policy was a national one and not, as had sometimes been the case in the past, a policy dictated by the interests of small groups of individuals looking either to Russia or to Great Britain. The Persian Government wished to maintain the most friendly relations and to co-operate to the full with any nation such as Great Britain which showed itself to be Persia's friend and mindful of Persian interests. He was glad to say that, whatever may have been the differences in the past between Persia and Great Britain, none existed now. I thanked him for this

expression of his Government's friendship which I said I reciprocated. I went on to say that I hoped the Persians would be on their guard against Russian attempts to drive a wedge between us. If at any time the Persian Government had a problem let them come and talk it over with us and I was sure that together we could find the solution.

4. Before leaving, the Persian Foreign Minister thanked me for giving him this further opportunity to discuss Persian affairs and said he hoped one day to be

free of the cares of office and to pay a more lengthy visit to Great Britain and to learn our language. I replied suitably.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow, Cairo, Bagdad, Jedda, Beirut, Damascus, Amman, the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, the B.M.E.O. and the United Kingdom Delegation to the U.N.G.A., Paris.

I am, &c.

ERNEST BEVIN.

E 14368/2232/34

No. 31

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

Monthly Report for October 1948

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 8th November)

(No. 355)

Tehran,

Sir,

3rd November, 1948.

With reference to my despatch No. 331 of 5th October, I have the honour to submit the following report of events in Persia during October 1948. There has been a recurrence of incidents on the Soviet frontier. M. Hazhir's Government has been accorded a vote of confidence, but the deadlock in the Majlis continues, and no progress whatever has been made with the Government's programme of legislation; a further provisional twelfth of the budget has been approved. There has been a severe earthquake in Northern Khorasan.

Foreign Affairs

2. During the month Soviet troops on three occasions crossed the frontier into Persian territory. The first of these incidents took place to the east of the Caspian, where the frontier is formed by the Atrek River. Soviet troops were found to be occupying a dry watercourse, formerly the bed of the river and now on the Persian side of the frontier. The other two incidents were on the Azerbaijan frontier, in the area north of Ardebil between Astara and the Araxes River. Fire was exchanged on all three occasions, and one Persian soldier was killed. These incidents were given some prominence in the press at the end of the month, but according to information given by the Chief of the General Staff to the military attaché, they all took place at points where the exact line of the

frontier is not clear. General Razmara also said that such incidents were common enough, and had happened even during the reign of Reza Shah.

3. Although the Soviet Ambassador, M. Sadtchikov, was still on leave at the end of the month, he is expected to return during the first week in November. The Soviet Consul-General at Tabriz has returned and it is reported that the Persian Government have agreed to the appointment of a Soviet Vice-Consul at Bandar Shahpur to reside at Ahwaz.

4. M. Jan Magru has arrived in Tehran to take up the post of Rumanian Minister here. He has not yet presented his credentials.

Internal Affairs

5. On 12th October the Prime Minister asked the Majlis for a vote of confidence, which was accorded to him by 64 votes to 8, with 16 abstentions. This was an unexpected move. M. Azad's interpellation, which would have provided the occasion for a vote on Government policy, was already on the agenda for the day, but it seems that the Prime Minister wanted to be sure of his position before he announced the stage reached in the conversations which were then still in progress with representatives of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. In fact, the vote does not seem to have strengthened his hand. The Majlis is as intractable as ever, and the Cabinet is still

not complete. On 6th October M. Varasteh resigned his post as Minister of Finance, having held office for less than a fortnight.

6. The decision of the Judicial Commission, acquitting Ghavam os Saltaneh, has not yet received the approval of the Majlis. When the debate on this subject started on 5th October, Ghavam's opponents showed their determination to delay the proceedings, and the argument was advanced that the decision of the Judicial Commission was no longer valid as the commission itself was automatically dissolved on 6th October, its members having completed their six months' tenure of office. It is widely believed that the influence of Ghavam has much to do with the present situation, in which Hazhir's Government is kept in office, but prevented from exercising power.

7. A short communiqué was issued by the Government on 19th October to say that the conversations with representatives of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company had come to an end, and that Mr. Gass had left Tehran for London to discuss the Persian Government's proposals with the board of directors of the company, after which the conversations would be resumed. There was some indignation in the press that no more tangible result had been obtained, and the Prime Minister was attacked for once again sacrificing the rights of the Persian people in order to please the British.

8. At the beginning of the month the Prime Minister held informal discussions with the Deputies in an effort to get the budget approved, but his various proposals were rejected and although he has continually emphasised in the Majlis the need for the approval of the budget as a whole, no progress has been made. On 31st October a provisional twelfth for the month of Mehr was approved and in a clumsy attempt to secure tacit approval of the railway settlement, the Government inserted a clause authorising the expenditure on ammunition of £2 million sterling from the sum to be paid under the settlement. A heated and inconclusive debate on this clause ensued.

9. Although the seven-year plan has not yet been approved by the Majlis, a provisional organisation for carrying out preliminary work has been set up, with powers to engage foreign experts for a period not exceeding six months. An advance party of five from an American group of consultants is due to reach Tehran in mid-November for a short visit, and arrangements are being made for British experts to

co-operate with them. The Statistical Department of the Ministry of Finance has been put under the control of the new organisation.

10. At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party the Secretary-General, Dr. Radmanesh, presented a report in which he reviewed both national and international affairs. He attacked the Government and criticised the Shah's recent journey to Europe. Apart from this orthodox pronouncement there has been little Tudeh activity.

11. The six-monthly election of officers of the Majlis took place on 6th October. M. Sardar Fakher Kekmat was re-elected President by fifty-three votes to M. Taqizadeh's forty-six. New parliamentary commissions were elected on 31st October.

The Provinces

12. There was a very severe earthquake in Northern Khorasan on the evening of 6th October. Shocks continued for several days. Early reports of severe damage in Meshed proved unfounded, but the district of Daraghaz, near the Soviet frontier, was almost completely devastated, several hundred people being killed and wounded and many thousand rendered homeless. Reports from Moscow indicate that this earthquake was felt even more severely at Ashgabad, in Soviet Turkmanistan.

13. In Azerbaijan the new Governor-General, Khalil Fahimi, took up his duties on 8th October. Most of the political prisoners pardoned under the general amnesty have now returned, and a number of army officers, including two generals, who were imprisoned in connexion with the Azerbaijan Democrat Movement, were released on the Shah's birthday.

14. In spite of the fact that the Government have now rescinded most of the regulations forbidding the free movement of grain from one province to another, the bread situation remains unsatisfactory. Since it became known that stocks in the Tehran silo were dangerously low, landlords have hoarded their grain and the Government seem unable to prevent their doing so. There was a threat of a critical wheat shortage in Khuzistan owing to the complete failure of the harvest there. The Governor-General appealed to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, who were unable to help him out, but he managed to get some supplies from other provinces to tide the province over until the arrival of wheat

which the Government are arranging to purchase in Australia and the United States. A very cold spell in the middle of the month ruined much of the fruit crop at Hamadan and Kermanshah.

15. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; to

Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy at Bagdad; to the British Middle East Office, Cairo; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi, and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 15255/25/34

No. 32

NEW PERSIAN GOVERNMENT: PRESENTATION OF THE CABINET TO THE MAJLIS AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF PROGRAMME BY THE PRIME MINISTER

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. McNeil. (Received 29th November)

(No. 378)

Tehran,

Sir,

24th November, 1948.

As reported in my telegram No. 927 it was expected that the Cabinet would be presented to the Majlis on 18th November, but although the Prime Minister and his colleagues waited for most of the morning, the number of Deputies present fell short of the quorum. This is the first time in the constitutional history of Iran that a new Prime Minister has been thus prevented from presenting his Cabinet. The obstruction was carried out by the so-called Azadi (Freedom) group. This body, twenty-two Deputies strong, is not one of the recognised Majlis fractions, but consists of Deputies from the Democrat, Ettefagh and other fractions, who had combined together in order to recommend to the Prime Minister the names of certain persons whom they wished to be included in the Cabinet. The members of the Cabinet then offered their resignations to M. Sa'ed, but he refused them, and at the following session, on 21st November, he presented his Cabinet without having made any changes. M. Abbas Eskandari objected vociferously to the Minister of Justice, M. Sadr, and to Dr. Tahari, but he was shouted down and left the chamber.

2. The Prime Minister then announced his programme, which he summarised under the following headings: (1) To maintain and improve friendly relations with all countries, especially the neighbouring countries, in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter. (2) To enforce the laws, to maintain security and to

develop social justice. (3) To carry the Seven-Year Plan into execution once it was approved by the Majlis. (4) To assure essential food-stuffs and water for the country, to encourage exports and to promote hygiene and education. (5) To improve the lot of workers and peasants. (6) To continue the negotiations undertaken by the previous Government to safeguard Iranian rights to the southern oil. (7) To reclaim for Iran those parts of her territory which were, without treaty or agreement, subject to foreign intervention. (8) To prevent excessive centralisation of the administration at Tehran. (9) To prepare a budget for the coming year, the greater part of whose expenditure should be on productive works and economic development. (10) To submit to the Majlis a Bill for the reorganisation of the Civil Service. Copies of this programme were handed to the Deputies and the debate started on 23rd November. The debate continues and is likely to go on for another day or two before a vote is taken.

3. M. Sadr, who has now returned from the Mecca pilgrimage, is reported to have refused the post of Minister of Justice. If this is true the opposition to the Government in the Majlis may be somewhat reduced.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

PERSIAN AFFAIRS

Monthly Report for November 1948

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 20th December)

(No. 393. Confidential) *Tehran,*
Sir, *7th December, 1948.*

With reference to my despatch No. 355 of 3rd November, I have the honour to submit the following report of events in Persia during November 1948. The failure of the Majlis to carry out any of the measures proposed by M. Hajir, the obstruction caused by the constant withholding of the quorum in the Chamber, and opposition to his Government outside it, finally induced him to resign on 6th November in spite of a further vote of confidence; he was replaced by M. Mohammed Sa'ed, whose Government had not, however, become firmly established and had not even received its initial vote of confidence by the end of the month. The political situation therefore remains unstable and uneasy, and there have been increased Tudeh activity and preparations. There were no developments of note in Persia's foreign relations.

Foreign Affairs

2. The Soviet Ambassador, M. Sadchikov, returned from leave and consultation with his Government on 1st November. The Soviet Consuls-General at Tabriz, Resht and Kermanshah have also returned. No further incidents took place on the Soviet-Persian frontier, but the Moscow wireless made play with a visit by some United States army officers to Azerbaijan as a further instance of American interference in Persian affairs. Since his return, M. Sadchikov has made it apparent that the removal of the United States military and gendarmerie missions is the first objective of Soviet policy in this country. In spite of earlier conflicting statements, it became clear during the month that the Persian Government has not, in fact, communicated to the Security Council the notes which passed between them and the Soviet Government on this subject last spring.

3. The American Ambassador, Mr. Wiley, left Tehran on 22nd November for leave in the United States. There have been additions to the strength of the United States Military Mission, especially on the air force side, and the heads of both this mission and the Gendarmerie Mission have been changed. The agreement for the

supply of military equipment to Persia from the United States, and that prolonging the contract of the Military Mission have now been signed. The first deliveries of arms, including tanks, are expected to take place at Bandar Shahpur in mid-January. A group of industrial and engineering experts from the American consortium, Overseas Consultants Incorporated, visited Persia from 14th November to 2nd December to make a preliminary study of the Seven-Year Plan and to indicate those sections of it for which foreign experts should be engaged. Their presence in the country has been attacked by the Left-wing press as evidence of the Persian Government's subservience to United States policy.

4. The new Roumanian Minister presented his letters of credence on 8th November. A Finnish Minister, Baron Koskinen, has also arrived in Tehran but has not yet presented his letters.

The Royal Family

5. On 19th November the press published a Court announcement of the divorce of the Shah and Queen Fawzieh, which it attributed to the unfavourable influence of the Tehran climate on Her Majesty's health. The announcement was published side by side with one issued by the Palace in Cairo regarding the divorce of King Farouk.

Internal Affairs

6. M. Azad's long-pending interpellation was finally taken on 27th October and lasted until 3rd November, ranging widely over issues of internal and external policy. M. Hajir had no difficulty in demolishing this criticism, and on 4th November received another substantial vote of confidence, only eight Deputies voting against him. He at once tried by enquiries from the Deputies to discover whether this support would be translated into action by the passage of the budget. He evidently received an unsatisfactory reply and resigned on 6th November, having failed, through obstruction, to carry out any major item of his programme.

7. The Shah then sent for the leaders of the Majlis fractions to consult on the appointment of the next Prime Minister.

This experiment in constitutional practice failed to elicit a clear answer, and His Majesty thereupon referred the matter to the President of the Majlis who obtained the signed agreement of sixty-three Deputies recommending the appointment of M. Mohammed Sa'ed (Tehran Personalities No. 134). The Royal firman appointing M. Sa'ed issued on 8th November; he was, however, a long time forming his Cabinet (by the usual process of bargaining with the Majlis fractions), which included many members of M. Hajir's Government. A number of Deputies were dissatisfied that all their nominees had not been included and accordingly prevented M. Sa'ed from presenting his Government to the Chamber on 20th November by absenting themselves and withholding the quorum. After twenty-four hours of confusion the Government presented itself to the Majlis on the following day.

8. M. Sa'ed's declaration of policy gave prominence to his intention to execute the Seven-Year Plan; to take various measures for the benefit of the population and particularly the workers and peasants; to continue negotiations with the oil company; to reclaim Persian territory now under foreign rule (no specific mention of Bahrain), and to pass the budget and reorganise the civil service. This programme, however, has not yet been approved by the Majlis, although more than three weeks have passed since it was first formulated by the Prime Minister, for as soon as the debate opened M. Razavi, Deputy for Kerman, started a long speech attacking the Government, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the army, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Caspian fisheries. His speech occupied the Majlis for an entire week. He was followed by M. Batman-Ghelich, Deputy for Ardebil, who spoke in favour of the Government. His illiteracy moved the hilarity of the House and his personal attacks caused one of the usual scenes. M. Batman-Ghelich was still speaking at the end of the month, and meanwhile the Government, having had no vote of confidence, is unsure of its future. The sole measure passed by the Majlis in the last month is yet another provisional twelfth of that part of the budget which covers the payment of Government salaries.

9. Considerable progress was made during the month towards the launching of the Seven-Year Plan. The visit of the advance party of experts from Overseas Consultants Incorporated (see paragraph 3) has aroused public interest, and the sup-

porters of the plan are confident of the early passage through the Majlis of the Enabling Act. The advance party is expected to recommend to the Persian Government the engagement of about forty foreign experts who would come to Persia early in 1949 for four months to draw up a detailed programme of the work to be carried out under the plan. The Persian Government has approved this proposal in principle, but the required decree has not yet been signed. Before leaving, the leader of the party made a public statement to the effect that they considered that the Seven-Year Plan was workable and that the agricultural section of the plan was the most important and might probably occupy the first two or three years.

10. Sir Herbert Stewart and Dr. Murray of the British Middle East Office each accompanied the Americans on part of their tour in the provinces, and Colonel Alistair Gibb, of Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners, visited Tehran specially in order to meet the group. The American visitors welcomed the information and assistance which the British experts gave them, and co-operation was most cordial. They invited Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners to join the group for the next stage of their work, and indicated their willingness to leave the sections of the plan dealing with agriculture, statistics and forestry in the hands of the experts from the British Middle East Office.

11. One of the first acts of the Sa'ed Government was to lift the ban on the movement of wheat in certain provincial areas where smuggling had been rife. This measure does not appear, so far, to have had the desired effect of bringing wheat out of hoarding, and the price continues to rise. The Government are now negotiating with the United States Government for 100,000 tons of wheat and 12,000 tons of flour. With these additional stocks under their control it is hoped before long to compel the hoarders to disgorge. Action is also being taken to increase the number of bakeries in the capital with a view to ensuring a better distribution of bread. In spite of steadily rising prices there has been little overt evidence of industrial unrest during November. At a Kerman textile factory and at the Agricultural Bank in Tehran, however, there were two minor strikes which appear to have been spontaneous and based on legitimate economic grievance. There have been no changes in wage rates during the month, and the current statutory minimum wage rates still

bear little relationship to the high cost of living. Some progress has, however, been made in the development of a co-operative movement; new societies are in process of formation at Shiraz and Yezd, and for railway workers in Tehran. Discussions between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Persian Ministry of Labour on the immediate action to be taken to inaugurate societies in Khuzistan were satisfactory.

12. The Second Annual General Congress of the E.S.K.I. Trade Union took place in Tehran during the month. It was composed of 105 delegates from Tehran and the provinces claiming to represent seventy-one separate trade unions with a membership of 70,000. The President's report was an admission of negligible achievements during the year. Rivalry between the two principal leaders of E.S.K.I. (Hedayat and Gezelbash) over the selection of the Tehran delegates to the congress led to the dismissal from the organisation of Gezelbash, who now proposes to form a new trade union of his own.

The Provinces

13. The more active phase of Tudeh and Communist tactics seems to have begun, both in the provinces and at Tehran. Further preparations for subversive action are reported to have been made in Tehran; the town has been divided up into operational areas, and Tudeh agents have been instructing their followers about their duties in an emergency; and a number of "muhajjirs" and Caucasians have recently made their appearance in the capital. Tudeh activity has increased in the schools and at Tehran University, and an official ban on political activities among students, imposed by the Hajir Government, led to a so-called strike of university students organised by Tudeh.

14. Tudeh and Russian agents are reported from Resht and Kermanshah to be canvassing the villages, and in the south the Central Union of the Tudeh is apparently making an energetic appeal for more funds and the party is forming new cells. A number of Tudeh leaders expelled from the A.I.O.C. concession area after the general strike of 1946 are returning, and other suspected Tudeh agents are arriving from Tehran and are reported to be in touch with the Russian Consulate at Ahwaz. In Isfahan, Tudeh efforts are less successful and the Governor-General has managed to expel three Tudeh organisers who recently arrived from Tehran, and is

confiscating all copies of the Tudeh paper *Mardom*.

15. There are reports from several provinces of successful attempts by Governors-General to interest the Central Government in reforms and improvements in their provinces. The Governor-General of Seistan has apparently secured approval for several important measures, including the construction of a reservoir at a cost of £90,000 to protect Seistan against any future shortage in the Helmand water, and the improvement of roads in his area. The new Governor-General of Azerbaijan has also secured appropriations for Azerbaijan factories, and in Fars M. Ardalan, the Governor-General and formerly Minister of Communications, has obtained authority for improving various roads and bridges.

16. Soviet Wireless propaganda to Azerbaijan continues extremely active and has fastened particularly on the alleged penetration of the province by American military advisers. The return to Tabriz of Arkadi Krasnikh, Soviet Consul-General under the Democrats, is also significant since he has been on leave for no less than seven months. The new Governor-General, although he is apparently well-liked, seems to lack the strength of character necessary for countering strong Soviet pressure. Nevertheless, the loyalty of the province is not yet seriously in doubt.

17. There has been no major trouble in the tribal areas, though minor internal conflicts are reported from the Boir Ahmadi country; but both in the Bakhtiari country and in Fars the authorities are meeting with difficulties in their plans for grain collection. The Governor of the Bakhtiari, Manuchehr Khan, whose position seems insecure, has gone to Tehran and left the army and the Ministry of Finance with the responsibility of collecting grain in his area. Nor has General Alavi Moqhaddam, who has been on a similar mission in Fars, been much more successful; faced with tribal opposition, he has agreed to allow the tribes to dispose privately (that is, for smuggling) to half their grain surplus. But the smugglers in Bushire are reported to be determined to resist the Government's preventive measures. Both Mohammed Hussein Khan Qashgai and the new General Officer Commanding Fars Division, General Mo'tazadi, have confirmed both their own and the tribes' friendliness towards Britain.

18. There has been a marked revival of religious feeling on the occasion of Muharram, which has exceeded in fervour

anything seen for some years. In Tabriz it is reported that five men bled to death after self-inflicted wounds; in Ahwaz a strict ban on the sale of alcohol was maintained during the sacred month; a group of merchants in Kermanshah have taken the law into their own hands in preventing the sale of alcohol and the supply of electricity to the distillery; and even in Tehran the number of bands parading the streets during the month was much greater than in the previous years.

19. In many areas the price of food is on the increase and wheat supplies are precarious. There is no doubt that hoarding

and smuggling account for much of this scarcity since the harvest was not a bad one.

20. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad; to Air Headquarters, Iraq, through His Majesty's Embassy at Bagdad; to the Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, and the Senior Naval Officer in the Persian Gulf; to the British Middle East Office, Cairo; to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi and Karachi, and to all His Majesty's Consular Officers in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

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No. 34

POLITICAL SITUATION IN PERSIA

Position of Qavam Sultaneh and the Possibility of his Return to Power

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr Bevin. (Received 28th December)

(No. 406. Secret)

Tehran,

20th December, 1948.

Sir,
The duel between Qavam us Sultaneh and the Shah, which has dominated the political scene and paralysed the Majlis for the past two months or more, shows no sign of abating in intensity. On the contrary, it may now be entering a decisive phase on which the recent return to office of Mahommed Sa'ed has as yet had no visible effect.

2. There is little doubt that the present deadlock is working in favour of Qavam and his money bags so far as the Majlis is concerned, for the majority of Deputies, who, as you will remember, bought their seats from Qavam in the last election, are rapidly returning to the fold. The only notable exception is a group of Deputies from Azerbaijan and Kurdistan who were elected in defiance of Qavam and have remained stubbornly hostile to him. In the country, as a whole, public opinion is always extremely difficult to gauge and the present situation is so fluid and obscure that it would be futile to attempt to do so now. But my present impression is that Qavam has increased his influence in the Majlis at the expense of his personal reputation outside it. Although he has a strong following in the press and is assured of a large measure of support in certain circles, including those which are for selfish reasons opposed to change of any kind or are unswervingly hostile to the dynasty, there is

almost certainly an increasing number of the politically conscious but obscure who realise that Qavam is now playing ducks and drakes with their welfare in order to force his way back to power in time to control the next election. They must also know that if he succeeds, the outward trappings of order will be swiftly restored and the clock put back a quarter of a century. In other circumstances they might no doubt accept all this with resignation, but it is not conceivable that they will be allowed to do so now. The Tudeh and their associates are, in their way, just as active as Qavam, and, from all I hear, they are not wasting their time. There are few things which would help them more than the return to power of a corrupt politician of the old school, who is, I suspect, still convinced of his ability either to bring them to heel or keep them in play, or else to come to terms with them. If Qavam were now to return in triumph he would almost certainly be easy meat for the Tudeh, as, indeed, he was in 1946 until, under pressure from the Shah, from the American Ambassador and from me, he was forced to break with them.

3. I have no reason to believe that the Shah's feelings towards Qavam are less hostile now than they have been at any other time. As men they are the poles apart, and might therefore have been complementary, but Qavam's political ability and experience are so much greater than the Shah's

that I see little prospect of such a happy consummation. What is more, the Shah is far from master in his own house, and the possibility of Qavam establishing a fifth column in the court cannot be excluded. Indeed, I have some reason to believe that he is hard at work on that front already. Unfortunately the only card which the Shah can play against Qavam is to find some reason for arresting him or sending him abroad.

4. It may therefore turn out that there is no alternative to the return of Qavam and, in that event, we shall have to make the best of him, but, for the reasons I have stated, I do not view the prospect with any degree of enthusiasm. So far as I am concerned, however, there is nothing to be gained and perhaps much to be lost by any premature intervention in the struggle. For the present, therefore, any advice which I may give should not identify me with one side or the other. For this reason, if for no other, it must be of a positive character. I have in consequence taken the following line which, I hope, will meet with your approval. Whenever I hear the present Government disparaged, as of course it is by both contending parties, I point out the folly of pulling down one Government after another without having any clear idea of what is to take its place. The honesty of the present Prime Minister is challenged by no one, but irresponsible chopping and changing is fast bringing all Government and indeed the whole existing order into disrepute. It is, therefore, the duty of every patriotic Persian to support the present Government unless and until the possibility of a better one emerges. This, I maintain, can best be done by encouraging men of real ability and influence

to give the Government active support and to take office in it if they are asked to do so.

5. There are unfortunately not many who answer to the above description. Qavam is excluded *ex hypothesi*, to say nothing of the charges which still lie against him. Seyyid Zia is, of course, another outstanding figure, but by his intemperate attacks upon the Royal Family and the Court he has antagonised them both. Ali Mansur is a possibility, but he has many enemies and his relations with Sa'ed are such that they could hardly work together, still less make a useful team. The only other obvious candidate is Taqizadeh. He has already been offered the portfolio of Foreign Affairs as well as that of Finance in the present Cabinet, and has refused both. But when I saw the Prime Minister on 16th December, as I reported at the time, I enquired whether he would not consider urging Taqizadeh to accept the vacant portfolio of Interior. I have since heard privately that this appointment would be strongly opposed by certain influential persons at Court—possibly for the reason suggested towards the end of paragraph 3 above. Whether the Shah himself is opposed to Taqizadeh I do not know, but I propose to persist in my suggestion. If adopted it may stabilise the position of the Government and ensure that the coming elections are held under the fairest conditions obtainable and, if rejected, it will at any rate leave me free to intervene if at any stage it should appear that such action on my part would be effective.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow and to the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.